

THE MARKET FOR MODERN ART IN NEW YORK IN THE NINETEEN
FORTIES AND NINETEEN FIFTIES - A STRUCTURAL AND HISTORICAL
SURVEY

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ABSTRACT

The nineteen forties and nineteen fifties, acknowledged as the decades in which New York first emerged as a locus for modern art production of international stature (particularly the so-called 'New York School'), also witnessed its development into a market for modern art, both European and American, and it is upon this that this study focuses.

A modern art market is a 'support-system' which consists of not only the producer-artists and consumer-collectors but also of a number of 'intermediaries'. This complex, in addition to the actual purchase of art works, serves, for instance: to disseminate a knowledge about modern art in general; to select particular artists and promote their work in the public eye; to support contemporary artists financially; and to enhance the sphere of collecting activity. The groups or institutions involved in in these functions vary according to historical circumstances, and the first part of this study identifies the key constituents of the 'support-system' in the New York art market in this period as: New York museums concerned with modern and contemporary art, both foreign and native, private dealer-galleries, and collectors; and examines what parts each played in the structure of the art market as a whole, paying particular attention to the influence of wider socio-economic factors upon this.

This 'support-system' structure discussed in the first part may be considered as synchronic. The second part of this study, however, concentrates upon an examination of changing trends in prices and in collectors' preferences for different artistic expressions (particularly the relative status of American as against European modern art). Emphasis is placed in this upon demonstrating where possible how such developments were related to the functioning of the support system as discussed; and to situating the behaviour of the New York art market of the period into a wider national socio-economic context.

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THE ORGANISATION AND FUNCTIONING OF THE SUPPORT SYSTEM FOR MODERN ART IN NEW YORK.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The characteristic structures of the art market in its modern form were initially developed in Paris in the latter nineteenth century, in response to the problems then experienced of bringing the work of contemporary artists to an ever more diffuse public.^[1] Basically, the modern art market can be typified as a cultural organisation consisting of an integrated network of groups or 'organisation-sets' which each perform a number of basic roles in the reception and consumption of modern art. Briefly, the functions of these can be defined as those of: first, the support of the artist, either directly or indirectly - the role of 'patron'; second, the selection of the artist (generally from a wider mass of producers) - the role of 'gatekeeper'; and lastly, the presentation of this artist to the public or potential consumer) - the role of 'promoter'. In this the modern art market can be likened to a number of other cultural industry systems such as publishing and film-making which too involve the selection of productive individuals and the marketing of their work to the consumer.^[2] Although in these industry systems these functions might be undertaken by agents, publishers or distributors, within the art market the major organisation-sets characteristically consist of groups or institutions such as modern art museums, national or local government boards or quangos, commercial dealers or galleries, critics and collectors, which together form what is called the 'support system' for the contemporary artist.

The characteristic role of 'gatekeeper' is that in which an 'organisation-set' acts as a filter between the artist and the public by sifting through the mass of producers and selecting some of these artists for public exposure. In the case of the dealer-gallery grouping one can note a variety of responses to this function. Some might be called 'primary gatekeepers' for they concentrate upon new or unknown artists and give these their initial exhibition exposure in the art centre in question. This role is facilitated by the dealer's unique opportunities for contact with the artist, openings not normally available to either the private collector or the public institution. In this dealers are probably the nearest to the ideal-typical 'gatekeeper' role. The critic can be close to the dealer in fulfilling a primary gatekeeper function, for he/she can serve to introduce artists to members of other organisation-sets either via his/her writings, the use of direct social contacts, or by the organisation of gallery/institutional "new talent" shows. In many instances, however, the critic has a more passive reportorial role, which situates him/her more within the role of 'secondary gatekeeper' position, the initial selection having already been undertaken. A dealer of this latter 'secondary' type tends to be one who chooses to show only artists who have already acquired some critical and/or commercial reputation (possibly via galleries of the 'primary-gatekeeper' type or establishments in other art centres). The public institution or museum would appear to act basically as a 'secondary gatekeeper'. This is the case even when an institution has a programme of 'new talent' exhibitions, for the artists included in such shows are usually selected by the museum's staff from work already presented in commercial galleries. This secondary position is generally a necessary function of public status and the

concomitant responsibilities which such a position are thought to incur. The private collector can theoretically be a 'primary gatekeeper' if he/she is in a position whereby he/she has direct access to artists, and is thereby able to by-pass the selection process undertaken by public institutions, commercial galleries or critics. However, this tends to be rare because the very nature of the modern art market as consisting of diffuse and alienated groups of producers and consumers makes it difficult for collectors to gain access to a selection of artists. In fact, this state of affairs effectively situates many collectors in a 'tertiary gatekeeper' position because pre-selection of their choices has already been undertaken at several levels.

The role of 'promoter' encompasses, on the one hand, the impression of the artist upon the consciousness of the art public and, on the other, the encouragement of art purchases by potential collectors (whether private or institutional). It is necessary for the dealer to assume such a promotional role because, as dealer Martha Jackson has said,

"people won't buy art unless they're familiar with the artist..... Very few people just fall in love with an individual painting and buy it." [3]

If one looks at how dealers accomplish the first part of their tastemaking function one finds that perhaps the most important activity is the staging of temporary exhibitions. However, these can be supplemented by a number of means such as the commissioning of critical pieces (generally in the form of catalogue forewords but occasionally also monographs or articles), discursive writing by the dealer him/herself, the presentation of public lectures by the dealer, or the dispersal of publicity material such as press releases. The second part of a dealer's promotional role, that of

encouraging wider art ownership, primarily accomplished at the level of personal contact between the dealer and his/her clients and gallery visitors, is necessary because

"The average artist isn't able to call up critics, or museum people, or big collectors and say "You've got to come down and see my most recent thing".... But a dealer who's on the ball will do just that." [4]

Variations on some of the more general promotional strategies such as special exhibitions devoted to existing private collections or the use of art in specific surroundings (such as architecture) can also be used to encourage a wider art buying public.

One finds that the public institution functions as a promotional tastemaker in two ways. In the first it presents, promulgates and explicates the variety of modern art developments to the wider public via its own permanent collection, its temporary exhibition schedule, its production of books and other scholarly written material such as catalogues, its presentation of lectures, and its dispatch of specially formulated travelling shows. In the second, the encouragement of collecting activity, the museum can hold up its permanent collections as a yardstick by which a potential collector can judge what modern art is important: publicity given to improving values of works either already in, or entering, the institution's permanent collections can be used to reiterate the message of the rising status of modern art. Furthermore, reference, possibly via exhibitions, to the social status of those already associated with the museum either as collectors or as donors to the permanent collections (persons in the main drawn from the local socio-economic elite) can enhance the pedigree of art collecting. Finally, the museum can provide a direct advisory service for collectors.[5]

The role of critics as promoters can be related to the more general raising of the level of public knowledge about modern art; but the most significant as promoters are those who proselytise in support of a particular stylistic development - either in their writings, whether these be in the form of books or periodical articles, or in their organisation of expository exhibitions. Private individuals can act as tastemakers if their socio-economic or cultural standing is sufficient to stimulate emulation of their choices, or if they have sufficient assets to be able to found a private museum or gallery. In the latter case if the collector is able to provide an endowment sufficient to enable the presentation of temporary exhibitions in addition to the quasi-private core collection then the impression of professionalism can increase tastemaking potential.

The role of 'patron' in the context of the modern art market involves a somewhat loose use of the term as implying both the indirect and direct support of the artist, but not necessarily an individualised or sustained artist-patron relationship. Instead, it can vary from agreed regular payments by the members of an 'organisation-set' to an artist to the boost which approbation and exhibition can give to an artist's self-esteem and career prospects. The form of patronage characteristic of the private collector is basically the purchase of individual art works. The most commonly cited of the variety of motives for this is "pleasure" but this aesthetic response can be complicated by other considerations such as social prestige, decoration or investment.^[6] As noted by the critic Aline Saarinen:

"Art is conveniently endowed with exactly the right characteristics to make its pursuit not only pleasurable, but also wise and virtuous ... it stands for beauty It can be considered educational. And its personal

accumulation can be justified in terms of public benefit. Art ... can be used as the most conspicuous of objects consumed but, it need not be so necessarily employed. wisely chosen art has again and again proved in the long run to be a sound, ... profitable investment."[7]

In the modern period it is uncommon for collectors to commission specific art works, and even more unusual for them to patronise artists in the form of regular financial support. In the case of the institution one must consider the patronage role as signifying the accumulation of works in the permanent collections, preferably by purchase but also by the accretion of gifts and bequests.

If one perhaps considers the commercial relationship between dealer-gallery and artist as being within the ambit of the role of 'patron' then a number of varied responses by this particular 'set' to the question of patronage are discernible. The payment of a stipend, the nearest the dealer typically comes to the traditional norm of patronage, usually involves the dealer and artist agreeing to a contract in which the former promises certain cash advances or other regular payments to the artist in return for which he/she receives an agreed amount of the artist's new work or has the right of first refusal on the artist's future production for a specified length of time. The other most widespread variation on dealer support for the artist is the 'sale-on-consignment' system, wherein the dealer agrees to show the artist's work and takes a commission (usually 33 to 50 per cent) on any sales arising from that exhibition but returns any unsold works to the artist after a period. Under this form of arrangement, while there is no element of assured income for the artist, the dealer might make direct advances to the artist on an ad-hoc basis depending upon his/her resources.

The alternatives discussed above relate to the modern art market in general, the permutations of characteristic roles possible, and the groups or institutions which could putatively constitute 'organisation-sets' within the structure of any "support-system". These functions are 'ideal-typical' in that no two constituents of any system fulfil them in the same way: but within the basic roles discussed, it is possible to discern the emphasis which a particular organisation-set might place upon any its activities. However, factors governing the functioning of each 'organisation-set' mean that the methodologies usable in deducing structural differentiations within the boundaries of different support-system groupings are not identical.

Firstly, the economic structure of a museum is likely to affect the emphasis which it places upon its roles of patronage (the building of a permanent collection) or tastemaking. Within the context of the 'dealer-set' the constituent position of different establishments can be influenced by the commitment of a dealer to novelty of production (some might be more identified with new artists and recent stylistic developments while others concentrated upon established names or past art),^[8] by the respective orientation of each toward the producer-artist and the consumer-collector, and by the emphasis placed by each dealer upon his/her 'cultural' (the prestige of being associated with 'pure' creation) as opposed to his/her commercial role.^[9] For instance, although all dealers have, in practice, to merchandise works successfully to survive, those characterised as 'gatekeepers' put more stress upon the producer than the consumer.

Finally, although the more conventional manner of discussing

collectors emphasises the individuality and a-historicity of the aesthetic response, it is possible to structure this 'organisation-set' in a number of, albeit often inter-related, ways. One is to divide the individuals concerned by means of their motivations for collecting. The most important of these are social prestige and distinction, socio-cultural conformity (collecting as a means of indicating membership of a peer grouping), cultural esteem (whether from connoisseurship or association with the avant-garde), and economics (speculation and investment). [10] Alternatively, the organisation of the collector-grouping can be influenced by a component individual's attitude toward the nature of artistic production and his/her relative openness to novelty, a division termed by the dealer Samuel Kootz as that between the "avant-garde" and the "on-guard".[11] Moreover, in assessing the orientation of specific members of the last 'organisation-set' one can consider the socio-economic and/or cultural (including educational) backgrounds of collectors, for the location of collectors in the same social class or socio-professional groupings may be influential in determining the position of an individual within the structure of the whole 'collector-set'. [12]

In the context of the role of 'patron' one finds that three of the possible 'organisation-sets' cited earlier contributed to this function in the New York art market of the period under consideration - the modern art museum, the commercial dealer-gallery and the private (or private-corporate) collector. The importance of any museum as a patron was contingent upon the budget available for acquisitions. In the case of institutions founded by single benefactors the core collections were supplemented by regular purchase funds (either derived from the income from the original

endowment or in the form of gifts from the founder) which enabled the institutions to augment the founder's original collections. Such institutions acted almost as private buyers, acquiring most of their purchases from dealers and some directly from artists (in the latter category it was usually the case that the artist had been shown in some open entry group exhibition or was a prize-winner in some competition). However, if the endowment was small, as at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, then the museum's effectiveness as a patron and the growth of its permanent collections depended upon its success at stimulating art collecting among, and encouraging donations from, the public.

With regard to the dealer-gallery's functioning in the role of patron, defined as the financial relationship between dealer and artist, one finds that only a certain minority sector of New York dealers acquired works outright from artists. Instead, the great majority worked under the norm of 'sale-on-consignment', handling sales on a commission basis and making no direct investment in an artist's production or maintenance. This dealer-artist relationship was expressed thus by Edith Halpert, a contemporary dealer:

"You see, a dealer in living American art is not a dealer. He does not buy cheap and sell high. nor can he be a patron. Actually, he is merely an agent working on a commission,"[13]

The levels of commission charged by the dealer in New York in the period under discussion were as a rule set at 33 per cent for sales effected in the gallery itself, and 15 to 20 per cent for those arranged by the artist in his/her own studio. Under this norm artists were, as a rule, charged for all or most exhibition expenses such as publicity, catalogues, invitations, postage, framing, photographs; although the proportion of these paid by any artist

varied according to his/her status or the prestige and financial situation of the gallery. On occasion some dealers asked for a gift of a work included in an exhibition to recompense them for their presentation-related expenses.^[14] Prices were generally set by consultation between dealer and artist, but the former generally reserved the right to make deductions (as a rule 10 per cent) when selling to a museum or a particularly prestigious private collector because of the benefits which such a sale might have for an artist's marketability. Although there was little formal commitment to subsidy on any dealer's part, some did countenance support in the form of loans during the period it took to for an artist to achieve a significant turnover of work (a number of New York dealers of the time estimated this period as up to 4 or 5 years).^[15] A handful of dealers concerned primarily with younger American artists did attempt to diverge from the commission norm detailed above, and attempted to institute alternative contract arrangements based on the so-called "French System" of dealer subsidy and purchase with their American artists, but such experiments were in the main short-lived.^[16] Where a New York dealer diverged from the sale-on-consignment norm, the reason lay primarily in the nationality of work in which the dealer specialised - if he/she dealt in European art then he/she was more likely to hold stocks to which he/she held title. This division had its roots in the fact that the norm obtaining in the premier European art centre, Paris, ideally involved the dealer in a considerable degree of direct investment in the form of purchases ^[17] whereas conditions on the New York market had not encouraged New York dealers of American art to make the investment necessary for purchasing works outright from even their more saleable artists.^[18]

The first consequence of the commission system in New York was to stress continuing co-operation in the relationship between dealer and artist - or, as Edith Halpert put it

"The relationship between artist and dealer should be and in many cases is that of a partnership with mutual interests to protect and promote. The artist contributes his creative talent. The dealer contributes the setting...." [19]

This sense of communality arose from the fact that, as the artist did not sell his/her work to the dealer on or near the time of production, he/she remained a participant in the market and thus directly benefitted from any rise in the prices of his/her work. Moreover, the fact that much the same terms were offered by the great majority of New York dealers meant that it was the exception rather than the rule for American artists whose 'côte'[^] was improving to be tempted by better terms and more financial security to move from one gallery to another. Indeed, many artists stayed with the same dealers throughout their exhibiting careers.

The nearest that the great majority of private collectors in this period came to patronage was to amass a substantial group of works by an artist, although the occasional collector did help to subsidise an American artist's maintenance or set up an institutional purchase fund for the acquisition of works by young unknowns.[20] However, regular purchases did not necessarily mean any substantial element of personal contact between producer and consumer as these were usually made via a dealer and only occasionally straight from the artist's studio - although if works were regularly acquired over an extended period a social relationship might eventually develop between the collector and artist following intercession by the intermediary dealer. There was some commissioning of art works, particularly in the corporate

sector, but such sponsorship appears to have formed only a negligible proportion of the total demand for modern art in New York in any one year.

If one turns to examine which of the theoretical 'organisation-sets' fulfilled the role of 'tastemaker' within the New York art market one finds that only two groupings had any real significance in this respect - the modern art museum and the dealer-gallery. However, the significance of the latter was tempered by the economics of the 'sale-on-consignment' norm governing the dealer-artist relationship for as the artist was normally liable for publicity costs few dealers undertook any of the potential promotional options open to them other than the temporary solo or group exhibition. For the same reason, catalogues when produced were rarely more than checklists of the works on display; and although some New York dealers did produce critical pieces such as catalogue introductions or articles in their own right, it was very rare for any independent critic to be hired to write catalogue forewords or other promotional material. This placed considerable stress upon the individual dealer and his/her particular success at encouraging a knowledge of modern art and purchases of such work among members of the art public via contacts made in the gallery itself.

Another factor militating against the tastemaking potential of the critic, as against the dealer-gallery, was the very scale of the New York art market of the period under consideration, for in purely physical terms it was primarily associated with a fairly circumscribed area of Manhattan, the 'uptown' area bounded by Fiftieth and Sixtieth Streets on or around the axes of Fifth and

Madison Avenues, with the great majority of galleries located along Fifty Seventh Street.^[21] The quite circumscribed nature of the location of most New York galleries in this era, and their low numbers, meant that contemporary collectors could, and often did, visit the great majority of exhibitions on at any one time rather than using critics or reviewers as pre-selectors, as is necessary if there are a large and/or diffuse number of exhibition outlets.^[22] In this area, too, all the major museums concerned with modern art were located (at one time or another in the years under discussion) - the Museum of Modern Art, the Museum of Non-Objective Painting, and the Whitney Museum of American Art.^[23] This locale only became less central from approximately 1954 onwards, when there was some drift of galleries from Fifty-Seventh Street up into the Upper East Side (approximately Sixty-Fifth East to Ninetieth East Streets) because premises on the former, as it changed into a corporate business district, became progressively more expensive.^[24] A secondary area 'downtown' in Greenwich Village, approximately between Eighth and Fourteenth Streets, ^[25] was of some significance near the introduction and conclusion of the period under consideration. In the early nineteen forties, a number of galleries concerned with contemporary American art were clustered around the Whitney Museum for American Art, then located on Eighth Street. Although most of these eventually disappeared from this area, in the nineteen fifties a number of artist-controlled co-operative galleries specialising in the work of young Americans opened in the vicinity of Tenth and Twelfth Streets.

The blurring of the division between gatekeeping and promotional roles was expressed quite simply in the geographic situation of New York galleries, for all kinds (from those concerned

primarily with the work of new artists and leading a hand-to-mouth existence to the most prestigious merchandisers of French 'modern masters') were to be found almost cheek-by-jowl in the same circumscribed 'uptown' locality; and there was none of the division by locale and prestige to be found in Paris and there epitomised by the split between the galleries of the "rive gauche" and the "rive droite".[26] The one time that location did give some clues as to status and emphasis was when a gallery was situated 'downtown' in the Greenwich Village district, for this was then the domicile of a large proportion of local artists and any establishment there was likely to be concerned with contemporary production by Americans.

The 'sale-on-consignment' system had a further effect upon the promotional role of dealers in New York for, by allowing the handling of an artist's work without significant cash outlays in the way of purchases and advances, it encouraged a relatively large gallery stable. It also meant that dealers, even if they were already associated with older or known artists, were encouraged to refresh their gallery groups by taking on new or as-yet unestablished artists and to promote new and old side-by-side. However, such large groups meant that the vigour with which a dealer was able to present the artist as an entity, an 'oeuvre', patiently building up his/her reputation by exhibition and other critical means, was likely to be diminished. This kind of effort was effectively limited to those dealers who had resources over and above their commission on sales and whatever exhibition expenses might be deducted from the artist.[27] Most dealers were only able to "offer more artists less." [28]

The pecuniary pressures which militated against a dealer

undertaking a deliberate long-term promotional strategy were reinforced by the monopolistic structure engendered by the sale-on-consignment system. Under this an artist was promoted by one dealer at a time, with any dealer losing all control over an artist's work should the latter terminate his/her relationship with the dealer. This meant that any dealer had no guarantee that he/she would continuously share in any improvement in the artist's 'côte' which might result from his/her promotional efforts. One significant consequence of this was that the auction house played a relatively unimportant role in the structure of the market for modern art in New York in this period. Dealers in New York, particularly those specialising in the work of Americans, did not apparently use the auction sale to manipulate the market values of artists in whom they were interested. Moreover, although dealers in European art, forced by normal practice to purchase their stocks outright, must have used auctions as a means of supply, the dealer in contemporary American art did not do so as a rule because such purchases were regarded as creating a conflict of interest between dealer and gallery. This made auction sales unreliable as indicators of an artist's market value, as they occasionally set market records but were oft-times considerably lower than the commercial gallery charge for works of equivalent quality. In what may also be a consequence of the commission norm (which meant usually that a dealer need not pay an artist the proceeds of a sale until these were received) New York dealers in contemporary production actively publicised the availability of credit as a method of attracting new collectors or stimulating turnover. The efforts of dealers to stimulate a wider ownership of art were also influenced by coeval perceptions about the socio-economic character of the potential art market of the time, in particular the belief that a national redistribution of

wealth and income was taking place. One result of this was a tendency to try and distance the merchandising of art from its traditional *élitist* associations and to promote the possibility of collecting across a wide spectrum of income brackets.

If one looks at the role of modern art museums as promotional tastemakers in the context under consideration it is obvious that a number of major factors were influential. The first was that, theoretically at least, all museums were constituted as educational establishments as a consequence of a 1917 law which had excluded from Federal taxes all "institutions operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes." [30] However, the actual strength of any particular museum's commitment to its titular legal status was contingent upon its financial structure. It must be remembered that in the United States most museums, even if chartered as 'public' were quasi-private in nature, and only the very occasional institution was subsidised by government (whether Federal, state or city) funds.[31] Instead museums depended upon endowments, and the income derived from them, for the monies both to build up a permanent collection and for operational expenses. In institutions such as the Museum of Non-Objective Painting and the Whitney Museum of American Art, founded primarily as a result of the generosity of a single benefactor, there was a less active commitment to tastemaking than in those where endowments were limited (as at the Museum of Modern Art). Conversely, the continued existence and growth of the latter depended upon its ability to attract the attention of both the general and more specialised art-buying public via exhibitions and published material, and so stimulate admission revenues and membership fees and make up some of

the shortfall created by the paucity of endowment income.

By the same token, the financial structure of a museum influenced its attitude toward private collectors. In the cases of the Museum of Non-Objective Painting and the Whitney Museum of American Art, both of which had large core collections provided by their respective benefactors, for many years it was not deemed necessary to cultivate a supportive body of collector-donors. If acquisitions funds were either limited or irregular (or both), as at the Museum of Modern Art, donors of works or contributions toward purchases were always actively encouraged, as will be seen in the next chapter. This situation of dependence upon donors was ameliorated by the legal status of museums as discussed above, for not only did 'tax-exempt' mean that a museum was not liable to pay taxes in its own right, it also meant that donations to such institution were tax-negative.^[32] In consequence a donor was able to reduce his/her tax liabilities by deducting the price or market value (if the work had been owned for some time and had appreciated in monetary worth) of the work to be donated up to a limit of 15 to 30 per cent of the donor's adjusted gross income (gross income minus business-related expenses) from his/her income tax liabilities.^[33] Such tax-negative status also applied to bequests. If a donor wished to give assets worth more than the normal exemption level, then these were taxed at a relatively low rate compared to income taxes.^[34] The prospective donor did not even have to cede complete control over any work donated, for the 'life-interest' provision meant that the donor could, if he/she wished, keep the work in his/her own home for a period, deducting a proportion of the work's value or price from their tax liabilities according to a sliding scale set down by the Department of Inland

Revenue.[35] Indeed, museums could be most accommodating about the provisions of such gifts, even allowing a donor to keep a work in his/her own home although the institution might have full title to it and the full deduction had been taken by the donor.[36] Because of the manner in which deductions were made these provisions made donations to 'charitable' institutions most attractive to the very wealthy.[37]

Certain provisions of the tax code also gave some encouragement to corporate art patronage. The first of these, introduced in 1935, allowed contributions to charity up to 5 per cent of adjusted gross income to be deducted from a company's annual tax liabilities.[38] Of more direct influence, however, were the rules which allowed a company to amortise over 10 years the cost of purchase of an art work bought for the purpose of decorating the company's offices (in the same manner as furniture and fixtures); the second allowed the writing-off of the cost of an art work as an advertising expense if it was acquired for reproduction in an in-house company journal or as an advertisement in the media.[39]

This leads to the question of the nature of the art public, and more particularly of the art collector, in the United States in the period under consideration. In the context of an attempt to determine the potential collector, it is worth noting the critic James Thrall Soby's dictum that

"The basic difference between the picture buyer and the collector is that the one acquires a work of art for an empty wall space, the other buys for himself." [40]

A collector is, by definition, one who acquires works with some regularity, which in turn implies a certain level of knowledge and enthusiasm and wealth sufficient for such outlays. With this in

mind, as one reads American art periodicals of the early nineteen forties one becomes aware of a widespread notion that established patterns of art patronage were breaking down with the apparent decline of great individual fortunes; and the concomitant hope that a new, more widely-based art buying public would replace the earlier norm of the wealthy few. The greater public receptivity to modern art which the art media thought it could detect was considered to be the result of the Federal art patronage of the nineteen thirties, which had not only introduced art to communities in which original art had hitherto been unknown but had seemingly increased the status of American artists by subsidising them. According to the critic Edgar Alden Jewell, the Federal Art Projects had

"served to revolutionise the whole attitude toward art in this country ... The true significance of this effort lies in the general stimulus that has resulted in the quickened appreciation on the part of millions of people whose lives art had not before touched." [41]

In part at least the hopes for a wider market base appear to have been derived from the greatly expanded figures for museum attendance, which rose from 25 million persons in 1935 to more than 50 million in 1950. But it also derived from the proliferating sales of reproductions and art books, upon higher attendances at art auctions,^[42] and the fact that the improved prosperity of the era meant that the public was spending more on leisure and luxuries.^[43]

The belief that patterns of art patronage were changing occurred against the background of the prosperity and the improved financial situation of the upper middle classes when, during the years of World War II middle income groups saw their average weekly earnings rise by some 70 per cent.^[44] Because of this commentators in the nineteen forties stressed the importance of sectors other than the very wealthy when they discussed what groups

were, or could be, significant as collectors of modern art. For instance, in a 1944 article entitled "Who Buys What in the Picture Boom" the critic Aline Louchheim stressed the proportionate importance to the art market of the time of the "new collector" who "... belong(ed) to the upper middle class stratum" and was drawn from those who, while not exactly wealthy, were professionals or in businesses that were "doing a little better". [45] Later, in 1946, the critic James Thrall Soby estimated that the most important group with respect to contemporary art was what he termed the "comfortably-fixed" (with incomes in the range \$7,500 - \$25,000), whom Soby thought were able regularly to acquire perhaps two or three art works per annum at prices ranging from \$250 - \$1,500 per item. [46] In 1949 the dealer Edith Halpert estimated that there were then 8,060,000 homes in the United States that could theoretically afford to purchase some form of original art. Out of this total there were, according to her: 5,500,000 persons earning between \$3,000 - \$5,000 each year who should be able to afford to buy a drawing each year for \$25 - \$100, almost 2,000,000 who accrued between \$5,000 - \$10,000 annually who should be able to acquire watercolours or other works up to a value of \$500 and, finally, some 655,000 whose earnings per annum totalled \$10,000 or more whom she considered able to "support a large number of artists". [47]

However, despite the optimism of the earlier nineteen forties certain factors militated against any truly substantial broadening of the base from which the art collecting public was drawn. Whereas the percentages in the middle and upper middle income brackets appeared to improve more than fourfold during the nineteen forties [48] from the 1941 levels of the 2.2 per cent of "family

units" with annual incomes in excess of \$7,500 and 1.3 per cent with ones of \$10,000 or more, [49] in the decade after the end of the Second World War there was a negligible increase in the real value of incomes and little real redistribution of wealth.[50] Although the average annual personal income (per family unit) rose from \$2145 (1939) to \$3,450 (1945), then to \$4,440 and finally to \$6,820 (1960) [51] this apparent improvement was devalued by the 72 per cent inflation in the nineteen forties and a further 25 per cent decline in purchasing power in the nineteen fifties.[52] In real terms, between 1947 and 1960 the total of families in the lower 4 quintiles (\$9,999 and below) hardly changed at all - although the second (\$3,000 - \$4,999) and third quintiles declined proportionately in favour of the fourth (\$7,000 - \$9,999). However, there was some increase in the numbers in the uppermost quintile from 1953 onwards.[53] Moreover, whereas in 1922 the top 0.5 per cent of the population had owned 30 per cent of all privately held assets, in the middle nineteen fifties this same tiny percentage still controlled 25 per cent of the same (a recovery from the 19 per cent level of 1949); while the upper 11 per cent held nearly 60 per cent of total private assets.[54] In Dollar terms, this meant that in 1953 only 7 per cent of spending units (persons or families) possessed estates worth \$50,000 or more, while it was estimated that 50 per cent had a average worth of only \$1,800.[55]

In reaching her income divisions Halpert, in the foregoing, appears to have used a range of 5 to 10 per cent of disposable income as a yardstick by which the potentiality of income groups as art purchasers could be calculated, while Soby set his margin at a slightly higher rate of approximately 10 per cent. Although in practice the proportion of available income which a collector might

spend varies substantially, these percentages would appear to be a sensible theoretical tool by which to arrive at the widest parameters of the potential art collecting public for they help to locate the lowest income levels which could sustain art collecting. However, the importance of income as a determinant of collecting priorities could be affected to some extent by a dealer's willingness to provide the collector with credit facilities and the latter's willingness to use such means. Beyond this, in an assessment of collecting potential, one must consider the price levels of different categories of art works. For example, if the price range of the paintings in which the collector was interested was \$500 - \$3,000 (which was the market level of a number of established American contemporary painters in the early nineteen forties) then for any person to purchase more than one work yearly his/her income would have had to be somewhat in excess of \$10,000 per annum. If the potential collector was interested in the so-called European "modern masters" (whose individual prices might be in excess of \$5,000 even by the early nineteen forties) then the minimum income enabling the assemblage of a collection was higher still. The import of this was that art collecting, rather than the occasional purchase of works for decorative purposes, remained firmly associated with the uppermost income strata, whose members were employed in higher or middle management or in relatively remunerative professions such as law.

A corollary of the belief in the increasing democratisation of the art market was the notion that the new collector was no longer as concerned with status as had been the earlier tycoon: instead of the conspicuous consumption which had characterised the latter the new collector was thought to buy primarily for reasons of individual

preference. As dealer Edith Halpert phrased it in 1941,

"Famous names are not as important a consideration as in the past. Good works of art by lesser names seem more valuable to the newer buyers. Their approach is more adventurous and they buy new names far more readily if they like what's above the signature." [56]

Collectors were thought to be better able to make their own judgements because, as Parke-Bernett director Spencer Samuels said,

"Art education through picture books, movies and well-planned museum exhibitions [had] contributed much toward liberating the client and boosting his confidence " [57]

However, although such hopes were held particularly strongly by those involved with American art,[58] it would seem that the effects which these supposed changes in attitude had upon the potential for the growth of an art market, already circumscribed by economic factors, were further restricted by questions of context and familiarity. As noted by DiMaggio and Useem

"appreciation and understanding of the fine arts is related to the context in which they are presented, and the context is generally more familiar to the middle and upper classes than to others". [59]

In 1943 the critic Eugenia Lea Whitridge noted that art collecting on the grounds of individual taste required a degree of knowledge and confidence unlikely to be present in those, like the newly prosperous, who had no tradition of exposure to or involvement in the fine arts; and she pointed out that any true expansion of the American art buying public would be contingent upon "enlarged knowledge and feeling, in other words, education for buying".[60] Moreover, in the United States, education, especially at the tertiary level, was effectively synonymous with higher income levels and the social elite.[61] Indeed, Halpert's optimism of the early nineteen forties would appear to have diminished over the decade, for in 1949 she doubted whether, despite the millions of dollars

spent annually upon leisure activities, 2,000 persons out of the more than half a million theoretically able to support the contemporary artist bought with any regularity.[62]

Furthermore, the question of status or conspicuous consumption did not, after all, die away as a concomitant of art collecting, although it is true that such purchases were less likely to be made within the framework of the ostentatious consumption which Theodor Veblen had commented upon in earlier years - when the prestige accruing to the collector from the ability to pay enormous sums for a 'masterpiece' had seemed as, if not more, important than the historical worth of the work itself, and collectors such as Henry Clay Frick and Samuel H. Kress had vied with each other to build up the most prestigious collections. [63] In the period under consideration there was less of this sense of individualistic competitiveness. Instead, purchases were used as tangible expressions of a collector's status as a member of a particular social circle or, alternatively, of the intention to join a particular (almost certainly socially elevated) grouping.[64] In a similar fashion, status was an important accompaniment to corporate collecting, for not only was it used to promote overall corporate identity and image, but was also utilised increasingly from the early nineteen fifties onwards to denote executive differentiation within an increasingly homogenised work environment.[65]

It can be seen from the foregoing discussion that there were only 3 'organisation-sets' - those of the modern art museum, the dealer-gallery and the private and corporate collector - which played, to any significant extent, the major roles open to a constituent of the New York "support system" - gatekeeper, promoter

and tastemaker - whether it be to a greater or lesser degree. Consideration of an individual 'sets' relation to a particular characteristic role can, however, only provide a partial answer to the question of the nature of internal structure of each 'organisation-set' and the relative position of an individual unit (a specific museum, dealer, collector) within this grouping, or of the relation of each 'set' to the whole "support-system". To ascertain the internal structure of each 'set' the individual components of each (individual museum, gallery, person or company) will be examined also in the light of their aesthetic orientation. In the case of museum and the dealer-gallery dealer, this is demonstrated by the dichotomous bias toward either the producer or the public or, to put it another way, that between patronage or tastemaking (emphases which can be profoundly influenced by the financial position of the institution in question). In the case of the collector, orientation can be discerned in the twin polarities of caution about artistic change and receptivity to novelty, the difference between the "on-guard and the "avant-garde". With respect to the 'collector-set', an analysis by aesthetic orientation has appeared to be the most productive, even possibly the only, alternative open to an analysis of this 'organisation-set' within the historical context under consideration. The narrowness of the socio-economic base from which the American art collectors of this period were drawn means that similar cultural attitudes and educational experiences were common to the great majority of the individual collectors. This created great difficulties for any differentiation along the lines of class or socio-professional grouping, as the possible divisions which such an analysis offered tended to result in diffuse and confused lumpen masses. But motivation in the sense of social prestige or cultural distinction

will be discussed as often as is pertinent to the analysis of the functional structure of the 'collector-set'.

NOTES

- 1 Cynthia & Harrison White: Canvases and Careers; pp 76 - 110.
Raymonde Moulin: le marché de la peinture en France; pp 21 - 49.
- 2 Paul M. Hirsh: "Processing Fads and Fashions: An Organisation-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems" - American Journal of Sociology: 77 (1972): 4; pp 639 - 657.
- 3 Martha Jackson: Paul Cummings, interview, 23/5/1969. Archives of American Art.
- 4 Anonymous artist quoted in Bernard Rosenberg & Norris Fliegel: Vanguard Artist: Portrait and Self-portrait; p 243.
- 5 Julius S. Held: "The Museum and the Private Collector" - Magazine of Art: 36 (1943): 7: pp 270, 276. Theodore H. Low: Educational Philosophy and Practice of Art Museums; pp 50 - 60.
C. C. Cunningham: "Museum Trends - Co-operation with the Young Collector" - Art in America: XLIV (1956):3; pp 52, 53, 67 - 69.
- 6 John I. H. Baur: "abc for collectors of american contemporary art" - Art in America: XLVI (1958): 2; p 45.
- 7 Aline B. Saarinen: The Proud Possessors; p 346.
- 8 Marcia Bystryn has signified this division as that between invention and innovation. The former signifies bringing something new into being, the second something into use. Marcia Hammill Bystryn: The Social Production of Artistic Identity; pp 74 - 77.
- 9 Bystryn: *ibid.*
- 10 See Moulin: *op cit*; pp 198 - 224.
- 11 Samuel Kootz: "Dealer and Collector: Contemporary Art" - Art in America: XLVI (1958): 2; p 21.
- 12 Jean Baudrillard: Théorie de Consommation; pp 75 - 90. Paul di Maggio & Michael Useem: "Social Class and Arts Consumption", Theory & Society: Vol 5; pp 141 - 159. David Reisman & Howard Roseborough: "Careers and Consumer Behaviour" - in David Reisman: Abundance for What?; pp 113 - 137.
- 13 Chicago speech, 9/11/48. Edith Gregor Halpert Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1883.
- 14 These variations prompted the Artists' Equity Artist Dealer Relations Committee to send out to dealers in April 1954 some suggestions for "Generally Accepted Practices Among Gallery Artists" with reference to contracts. Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No 2182.
- 15 Edith G. Halpert: "The Function of the Dealer" - College Art Journal: Autumn 1949; p 56.
- 16 See Chapters 5 and 8.
- 17 Malcom Gee: Dealers, Collectors and Critics of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market between 1910 and 1930; pp 37 - 43. Moulin: *op cit*; pp 107 - 135. White & White: *op cit*; p 111 - 129.
- 18 It would appear that sale on consignment had been the earlier norm in Paris too, but under the influence of first Durand-Ruel and later dealers such as Ambroise Vollard and Daniel-Henri Kahnweiler the ideal practice had been established that those dealers who could placed their artists under contracts which enabled them to gain continued control over their production and to purchases works outright.
- 19 Boston speech, n. d., Edith Gregor Halpert Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No 1883.
- 20 One example of the former was the collector Edward M. M. Warburg who helped support the sculptor Gaston Lachaise in the nineteen thirties - Edward M. M. Warburg Papers, Archives of American Art, unfilmed. An example of the latter is Larry Aldrich, who gave monies to the Museum of Modern Art in 1960 with which to

- acquire the work of young contemporaries. Larry Aldrich Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 21 Art galleries had occupied this district since the early twentieth century - the Durand-Ruel Galleries had opened premises upon Fifty-Seventh Street in 1913.
 - 22 This fact was stressed in a number of collectors recollections of the period, including interviews conducted by the author.
 - 23 Appendix B: Tables I and II.
 - 24 Dore Ashton: "What's New in New York" - Art Digest: 1/10/1953; pp 16 - 17. "Art and Economics" - Art Digest: 1/7/1954; p 5.
 - 25 Appendix B: Tables I and II.
 - 26 Gee: op cit; pp 38 - 40.
 - 27 Such resources were usually derived from the sale of work of an already-established nature - whether prestigious European modern masters or possibly earlier American art. For instance, Edith Halpert, a dealer in contemporary American painting, subsidised this part of her operation for many years by the sale of American folk art.
 - 28 Karl Fortress, quoted in: "Symposium on Art Dealing" - Art Digest: 1/4/1954; p 8.
 - 29 The only exceptions to this case would have been when an artist's work was in such short-supply that no conflict of interest need have arisen.
 - 30 Museums had first derived some taxation benefits in 1909, when passage of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act had excluded art over 20 years old from import duties. This act was passed with the specific aim of enabling J. P. Morgan to import his art collection from Britain into the United States, in the hope that he would donate it to some American institution - Karl E. Meyer: The Art Museum - Power, Money, Ethics (A Twentieth Century Report); p 32.
This exclusion which was extended to cover all original works of art in 1913, in consequence of the the campaign mounted by lawyer-collector John Quinn after the organisers of the Armory Show had found the 15 per cent import duty then still levied on recent art works to be a burden upon their limited resources. B. J. Reid: The Man From New York; pp 157 - 160.
 - 31 In New York it was only the Metropolitan Museum which received funds from the city administration.
Laurance V. Coleman: The Museum in America; pp 177 - 192.
 - 32 This provision was introduced in 1917, only a few years after the introduction of a Federal Income tax in 1913.
 - 33 Until 1948 this ceiling was the lower figure, and was then raised to 20 per cent. From this date too a married couple could derive extra benefit from this provision because the total value of any donation made could be split between the husband and wife, thus effectively increasing the allowance.
A. E. Holmans: United States Fiscal Policy; pp 85 - 99.
Randolph E. Paul: Taxation in the United States; pp 494 - 497.
See Appendix B: Table IV.
 - 34 Gift tax rates ranged from 2.5 per cent for gifts of from \$3,000 - \$5,000 up to a ceiling of 75 per cent. The tax rate on a gift of one million dollars was only 27.75 per cent while the nominal tax rate on this sort of income would be in the region of 90 per cent.
C. Wright Mills: The Power Elite; p 153. Joseph P. Crockett: The Federal Tax System of the United States; pp 19, 79.
 - 35 Edith G. Halpert: letter to H. Harvard Arnason, 8/2/1952.
Edith G. Halpert: letter to Stephen Stone, 6/3/1952. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.

- Alfred H. Barr: letter to Richard S. Davis, 17/10/1955. Alfred H. Barr Papers, History Archive, Museum of Modern Art - Barr states that the value of a donation of \$100,000 to a charitable institution by a donor retaining a life interest would be \$48,030 if the donor was 50 years old, rising to \$72,630 if they were aged 70.
- 36 Thomas B. Sherman: "Art and Taxes" - Saturday Review of Literature: 7/7/1956; pp 5, 6, 26.
 - 37 On occasion, when the value of the donation was calculated on an accumulated value and not the purchase price, the result could be an effective profit for the donor.
Appendix B: Table III. J. K. Lasser: "How to Raise Money Painlessly" - Harper's Magazine: December 1946; pp 549 - 553.
 - 38 "Art Inc: American Paintings from Corporate Collections", Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 1979; p 14.
 - 39 Edith G Halpert: letter to Evelyn M Grout, 20/5/1957. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 40 James Thrall Soby: "Collecting Today's Pictures" - Saturday Review of Literature: 25/5/1946; p 42.
 - 41 Edgar Alden Jewell - New York Times: 8/3/1936.
 - 42 C. A. Baretzki: "America's Aesthetic Awakening" - College Art Journal: XI (1951 - 1952): 2; pp 96 - 102.
Russell Lynes: "The Tastemakers" - Harper's Magazine: Vol 194 (194): 1165; pp 482 - 491.
 - 43 For instance, in 1949 Halpert quoted \$9 billion as spent annually on liquor; while nearly a decade later it was estimated that out of a total national disposable personal income of \$307.5 billion Americans spent \$1.6 billion upon jewellery, \$280 million on furs, \$20.1 billion on travel and \$2.1 million upon boating alone - Edith G. Halpert: "The Function of a Dealer" - College Art Journal: Autumn 1949; p 57. "Business in 1956" - Time: 31/12/1956; p 54. "Business in 1958" - Time: 29/12/1958; p 46.
 - 44 Lester V. Chandler: Inflation in the United States 1940 - 1948; pp 40 - 60. Bert G. Hickman: Growth and Stability in the Post-War Economy; pp 34 - 44. Harold G. Vatter: The United States Economy in the 1950s; pp 44 - 48, 223 - 230.
 - 45 Aline B. Louchheim: "Who Buys what in the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIII (1944 - 1945): 9; pp 13 - 14.
 - 46 James Thrall Soby: "Collecting Today's Pictures" - Saturday Review of Literature: 25/5/1946; p 42.
 - 47 Edith G. Halpert: "The Function of a Dealer" - College Art Journal: Autumn 1949; p 56.
 - 48 Herman P Miller: Income of the American People: p 19. Chandler: op cit; pp 7 - 10, 368.
 - 49 Miller: ibid. Chandler: ibid.
 - 50 Miller: op cit; pp 110 - 111. A family unit was equal to 3.6 persons, with 2 income receivers (the wife's income calculated as half that of her spouse).
Ferdinand Lundberg: The Rich and the Super-Rich - A Study of the Power of Money Today; pp 16 - 21. These figures were derived from the Lampman Study (Princeton University, 1962) and the University of Michigan "Survey of Consumer Finances" (1960).
 - 51 Miller: op cit; pp 109 - 111. Emma S. Woytinsky: Profile of the United States Economy: p 142.
 - 52 Chandler: op cit; p 368. Hickman: op cit; pp 35, 81, 123.
 - 53 Lundberg: op cit; p 466. Gabriel Kolko: Wealth and Power in America - An Analysis of Social Class and Income Distribution; p 78.
See Appendix A: Table VI.
 - 54 Lundberg: op cit; pp 16 - 20. Vatter: op cit; p 36.

- 55 Kolko: op cit; p 47.
- 56 Edith G. Halpert: letter to Frank Crowninshield, 8/4/1941. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 57 Spencer Samuels: "Dealer and Collector: Antiques and Old Masters" - Art in America: XLVI (1958): 2; p 22.
- 58 There was so great an element of ideological commitment to this belief that similar beliefs were still being expounded in 1955 by critic Dorothy Grafly in "The New Psychology in Collecting" - American Artist: 19 (1955): 8; pp 37, 63 - 64.
- 59 DiMaggio & Useem: op cit; p 150.
- 60 Eugenia Lea Whitridge: "Trends in the Selling of Art" - College Art Journal: 3 (1943 - 1944): 2; pp 58 - 64.
- 61 E. Digby Baltzell: "Patterns of Status - Who's Who in America and 'The Social Register'." - in: Milton Albrecht, J. H. Barnett (eds): International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (1968); pp 266 - 275.
- 62 Edith Halpert: "The Function of the Dealer" - College Art Journal: Autumn 1949; p 56 - 57.
- 63 Theodor Veblen: The Theory of the Leisure Class; pp 60 - 80.
- 64 Vance Packard: The Status Seekers; pp 60 - 90.
Max Lerner: America as A Civilisation; pp 631 - 651.
- 65 "Art Inc: American Paintings from Corporate Collections", Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 1979; p 14.
Edith G. Halpert: letter to Evelyn M. Grout, 20/5/1957, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. Packard: op cit; pp 114 - 116.

CHAPTER 2: THE MODERN ART MUSEUM AS PATRON - THE GROWTH OF THE PERMANENT COLLECTIONS (MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART, MUSEUM OF NON-OBJECTIVE PAINTING/SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM)

The foundations of the 3 New York institutions devoted to modern art in the decade before the Second World War can be attributed to the improvement in the critical status of modern art in the United States which occurred from the time of the First World War onwards: in turn the result of the efforts of critics and other partisans such as collectors Alfred Gallatin (with his Museum of Living Art) and Katherine Dreier (and the Société Anonyme), or as a consequence of large scale exhibitions such as the 1913 Armory Show. These 3 institutions had another trait in common, for all owed their foundation to the efforts of wealthy individuals within the New York social élite.^[1] However, with respect to their roles a "patron", i.e. the growth of these institutions as significant acquirers of modern art, both the Whitney Museum of American Art (it opened in November 1931 on West Eighth Street) and the Museum of Non-Objective Painting (which opened in 1939) were distinguished from the Museum of Modern Art by the fact that both were, in important respects, extensions of the private philanthropy of their respective founders; and the culmination, if not the object, of these individuals' previous collecting careers - as Mrs Whitney stated at the time of the Whitney Museum's opening,

"For twenty-five years I have been intensely interested in American art. I have collected during these years the work of American artists because I believe in our native creative talent. Now I am making this collection the nucleus of a museum devoted exclusively to American art - a museum which will grow and increase in importance as we ourselves grow."^[2]

- whereas the Modern was founded by a small group of collectors without a core collection, with the intention that it would both exhibit modern art and serve as a receptacle for the bequest of

private collections. The initial recognition of such a need had come in 1924, when the lack of a suitable institution to which the works owned by collector John Quinn could be donated had led to its dispersal in a series of auction sales. However, although two collectors of European modernism, Elizabeth Bliss and Mary Quinn Sullivan, apparently discussed the possibility of founding some kind of permanent institution at this time, [3] it was not until the death of artist Arthur B. Davies in 1928 brought these two collectors together with another, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, that matters were set in train [4] (with the assistance of another collector, Conger A. Goodyear), with the museum opening its doors in November 1929.[5]

As the collections which Mrs Whitney and Solomon Guggenheim had built up formed the respective cores, if not the bulk, of these museums' collections, and as the careers of Whitney and Guggenheim prior to the establishment of their respective museum were so important to the future structure of these institutions, it is necessary to discuss these first before discussing the museum collections themselves. For the 25 years prior to 1931 Mrs Whitney had been involved with contemporary American art, both as a practising sculptor and as a patron of American artists, via a number of sequential channels: the Whitney Studio (from 1914 - 1918), the Friends of Young Artists (founded in 1915), the Whitney Studio Club (from 1918 - 1928), and the Whitney Studio Galleries (1928 - 1929).[6] The Whitney Studio, which later expanded into the Whitney Studio Club, was primarily an exhibition venue which aimed to provide exposure for living American artists at a time when the only dealers in New York willing to show contemporary American art were the Daniel, Macbeth and Montross Galleries, with

Alfred Steiglitz's 291 Gallery" showing American modernists alongside their European counterparts.^[7] At the Studio a series of juried competitions were held where, after 2 years of cash prizes, purchase prizes were instituted (these works then went into Mrs Whitney's collection). The Whitney Studio Club not only provided a social centre for artists, but was an exhibition venue whose policy was to include artists in shows as much to encourage nascent talent as to signify existing artistic quality.^[8] Works were acquired from these exhibitions for the Whitney collection. Again there was a philanthropic element present in the purchases, for some served as grants-in-aid or helped finance study trips abroad. Officially the Club charged dues of \$5 but these were often waived. The Club was dissolved in 1928, in part because it had become too large (it had more than 400 members and a long waiting list), but also because it was felt that the Club's original pioneering purpose had been fulfilled to the extent that there was a more receptive attitude on the part of the art establishment, and to some degree the public, towards contemporary American art.^[9] The Studio Galleries exhibited foreign and native work with no particular emphasis on any particular school and, unlike previous efforts, were run on strictly commercial lines. It was closed when Mrs Whitney decided that she wished to retire from any active involvement in the art world. However, as she was anxious to gain wider recognition of her collection, and museum validation of the work therein, she offered her collection (with an endowment for its upkeep) to the Metropolitan Museum. It was the rejection of this offer which inspired her to found a separate museum.

"The great adventure of a museum would raise the collection out of storage into gallery light for the world to see ... it would jump the place out of the amateur into the professional This would really be doing something for artists For the first time they could see their achievement which now they saw piecemeal. Mrs Whitney

made up her mind swiftly and gaily.[10]

Solomon R. Guggenheim began to collect modern, and more especially so-called "non-objective" art, in the late nineteen twenties as a consequence of his meeting the Baroness Hilla von Rebay in 1927 - 1928.[11] Previous to this meeting Guggenheim and his wife had collected art but had focused on Italian and French Primitives, nineteenth century American landscape painting and the French Barbizon group.[12] By mid-1929 Rebay had persuaded Guggenheim to start a collection of modern art; and he had purchased his first Wassily Kandinsky.[13] By the end of 1930 the collection had grown rapidly to include works by Rudolph Bauer, Marc Chagall, Robert Delaunay, Albert Gleizes, Kandinsky, Amedeo Modigliani and Lazlo Moholy-Nagy.[14] Although the focus of the collection was to be "non-objective" painting, which Rebay considered to be the culmination of modern art, works by early twentieth century "precursors" were included to indicate the historical position of "non-objective" art.[15]

Whereas the decision to found a museum came almost accidentally to Mrs Whitney after many years of private patronage, Guggenheim's collecting was apparently always consciously directed toward the idea of a personal public memorial. At the outset he envisaged presenting the future collection to some suitable institution, preferably the Metropolitan Museum.[16] However, by 1936 Guggenheim had apparently decided against this course, and was considering founding his own permanent showcase for his collection. This possibility had been given a first stimulus in 1933 when Nelson Rockefeller and Wallace K. Harrison (architect of the Rockefeller Centre) had suggested that a home for Guggenheim's collection might be included in a projected development within the

Rockefeller Centre.[17] Although this proposal came to nought, it gave great incentive to Guggenheim's collecting in subsequent years. The growing collection was shown in a number of special exhibitions from 1936 onwards. Its first public exhibition, in March - April 1936 in Charleston, South Carolina (where Guggenheim had his winter home) featured paintings belonging to both Guggenheim and Rebay, and consisted of 108 "non-objective" works and 20 "precursor" (figurative and near-abstract) paintings - the former including examples by Bauer (61), Kandinsky (28), Moholy-Nagy (5) and Rebay (4); the latter Chagall, Delaunay and Gleizes (5).[18] A second exhibition, in Philadelphia in February 1937, included 138 "non-objective" works by 12 artists (among them 67 works by Bauer and 43 by Kandinsky) and 60 paintings by "near-abstractionists".[19] When the collection (now known as that of the Guggenheim Foundation) was displayed at Charleston in March 1938, the representation of Bauer had increased to 95 paintings and of Kandinsky to 47 works.[20] The period from May 1938 to March 1939 saw the most dramatic growth in the collection with approximately 400 works added, to bring the total up to 726.[21]

In its role as 'patron' the Museum of Modern Art started off with a clean slate to the extent that there was no core collection to pre-create any bias. The intention of the founders, as stated in 1929 was to establish

"..... a museum based on the general principle of the Luxembourg and the Tate, but with important modifications." [22]

The "chief objective" of the new museum was, as museum director Alfred H. Barr later phrased it, to "acquire and exhibit works of the finest quality " [23] for its collections, but within this remit it was proposed that the collections would be divided

into two strands of emphasis. For the first of these, the more historical, it was intended to

"establish a very fine collection of the immediate ancestors, American and European, of the modern movement; artists whose paintings are still too controversial for universal acceptance." [24]

On the other it was planned that as wide as possible a selection of current production would be purchased:

"The Museum is aware that it may often guess wrong in its acquisitions. When it acquires a dozen recent paintings it will be lucky if in ten years one should survive. For the future the important thing is to acquire this one; the other nine will be forgiven - and forgotten. But meanwhile we live in the present, and for the present these other nine will seem just as necessary and useful." [25]

This latter emphasis was to be particularly important with regard to the Modern's purchases of American art, for the policy in this respect was not to aim for a comprehensive collection but to acquire works of a "daring" and "national" character, [26] particularly by younger and less well-known artists whose work was ".... contribut[ing] to the evolution of a recognizably [American] contemporary art" free of European influence.[27]

Initially, it was intended that the collections of the Museum of Modern Art would be fluid in their composition, and resemble, as Barr put it,

"a torpedo moving through time, its nose in the ever advancing present, its tail the ever receding past of fifty to a hundred years ago the bulk of the collection would be concentrated in the early years of the twentieth century, tapering off into the nineteenth century, with a propeller representing background collections." [28]

This conception resulted from Barr's belief that modern art was

"... any art, original or progressive in character, produced in the last three decades, but includes also the 'pioneer ancestors' of the nineteenth century." [29]

Indeed, during the museum's early years the need for any kind of 'permanent' collection at all was debated within the museum.[30]

The theoretical fluidity of the collections was finally abandoned in the early nineteen fifties, when it was announced that the aim in future would be to build a permanent collection consisting of "outstanding paintings which it [the museum] considers have passed the test of time" and to "acquire additional works of art of equal excellence for permanent retention".[31] However, the original aim of fluidity was retained to the extent that the permanent collection was to form no more than a core, with the majority of works still subject to review and possible de-accession.

If the initial announcement of the Whitney Museum is studied, it is obvious to what extent the new museum was to be determined by Mrs Whitney's extant collection. [32]

"The Whitney Museum of American Art presents to the public a collection, for the most part by living artists, of some five hundred paintings in oil and water-colours, one hundred and fifteen pieces of sculpture, drawings, etchings, lithographs, and works in other mediums, to the number of seven hundred. The collection, while comprehensive, is not complete and forms only a nucleus of an ever-growing organism. By means of frequent acquisitions, the Museum will keep pace with every vital manifestation in contemporary American art," [33]

The new Museum was envisaged as continuing the emphasis upon patronage of the contemporary American artist previously shown by Mrs Whitney in her private collecting, albeit with none of the philanthropic element present previously. As befits a public institution more stress was to be placed on quality -

"While this museum will emphatically not be merely a repository for relics, no museum can be a place for experiment ... our objective will be the formation of a collection whose merit alone will make them worthy of being preserved in a public collection." [34]

Within the guiding criterion of quality it was hoped that a wide, catholic representation of artists and their works would be achieved. As art historian and later Whitney director Lloyd Goodrich stated,

"We do not think that all virtue resides in one of two or three schools; we try to recognise the artists who seems most creative, regardless of whether they are in the advance guard, the rear guard or the middle guard. we would rather err on the side of inclusiveness than exclusiveness." [35]

The main thrust was to be acquisitions of coetaneous production, by both established artists and by new talent. It was stressed that the Whitney would pursue a

"vigorous campaign of acquisition in the effort to discover fresh talents and to stimulate the creative spirit of the artist before it has been deadened by old age." [36]

However, it was also intended that the Whitney collection should include some nineteenth century works and examples by significant artists of the recent past to provide a background for the contemporary work in the collection and to

"summarise the achievement of American art to an extent sufficient to establish whatever relation may exist between the present and the past." [37]

In June 1937 it was announced that the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation had been inaugurated

"..... to establish, maintain and operate, or to contribute for the establishment, maintenance and operation of a museum, or museums for the public exhibition of art; ..." [38]

Although the announcement of the Foundation was so generalised, it was the "non-objective" painting which formed the bulk of Guggenheim's collection which was to form the nucleus of any future museum collection and determine the future museum's bias.^[39] For instance, the collection consisted almost entirely of paintings and related graphic works, for Rebay, who was to be curator, ^[40] was hostile to most sculpture as she thought it too "objective".^[41] The museum itself opened in 1939 (on West Fifty-Fourth Street) as the "Museum of Non-Objective Painting" with an exhibition entitled "The Art of Tomorrow".^[42] This opening exhibition, featuring 415

"non-objective" works from the Guggenheim Foundation collection included 215 paintings by Bauer and 103 by Kandinsky.[43]

Once open, the history of each museum as patron, that is, the growth of their permanent collections, was markedly dissimilar. One basic differentiation was caused by the financial structures of these museums: a division which separated the Museum of Modern Art from the other two, for both the Whitney and Guggenheim Museums were provided with large endowments by their respective founders, in addition to their core collections, which theoretically enabled regular purchases without recourse to other sources of funding. For instance, from 1930 - 1935 Mrs Whitney provided all running expenses, including an annual purchase fund of \$20,000 (this declined subsequently to about \$10,000 per annum as a result of a contraction of endowment income caused by a depreciation in the value of stocks given by Mrs Whitney as part of her 1935 endowment [44] to enable the purchase of art works "as rapidly as is necessary to keep abreast of American artistic activities".[45] In 1935 - 1936, when the Whitney Museum was chartered, Mrs Whitney endowed it with \$1,822,500.[46] On her death in 1942 she bequeathed a further \$2,500,000.[47] After this date general running expenses were paid from the endowment income, but the museum trustees provided money for extraordinary expenses such as the costs of building the Museum's new Fifty-Fourth Street premises (adjacent to the Museum of Modern Art) in the early nineteen fifties.[48] After it had moved to its new home on Fifty-Fourth Street in 1954 the value of the Whitney's purchase fund was \$17,000 per annum, of which the great majority originated from the income from the original endowments, but some was derived from the proceeds of a 1949 auction of nineteenth century works from the

Museum collection.[49] When the Guggenheim Foundation was incorporated in 1937 Guggenheim endowed it with \$3 million, from which purchase funds and general expenses were taken.[50] On his death in 1949 he bequeathed a further \$8 million, of which \$6 million was to provide for the maintenance of the collection and \$2 million was for the building of Frank Lloyd Wright's projected design for a permanent home for the Foundation collection.[51]

It was only in 1949 that either the Whitney or the Guggenheim utilised any purchase funds supplementary to those derived from their founders. At the Whitney the first of these, specifically designated for the purchase of works by artists under 30 years of age, was the Juliana Force Purchase.[52] To further increase available purchase funds at this institution it was decided in the early nineteen fifties to form a "Friends of the Whitney Museum" organisation, consisting of collectors known for their interest in American art.[53] So as not to destroy what was considered to be the Museum's intimate character, [54] the potential size of this organisation was deliberately restricted by the charging of a relatively high annual contribution of \$250.[55] The money raised from these subscriptions went into an Acquisition Fund in parallel to that of the Museum proper.[56] However, despite the deliberately restrictive nature of the organisation it grew rapidly, and the money raised in this manner greatly amplified the Whitney's purchase funds. [57] Indeed, in the first 2 1/2 years of its existence \$70,738 was raised for the purchase of work by living artists, an effective doubling of the museum's available funds.[58] This situation lasted until the early nineteen sixties, when the money from the Friend's subscriptions were subsumed into the same fund as the Museum's, and the Friends lost control over purchases

made with their subscriptions.[59] At the Guggenheim Museum, however, no efforts were made in its first two decades to attract supplementary purchase funds.

Although the funds provided by their founders formed such a fundamental portion of the resources available for accessions at the Whitney and Guggenheim museums, at the Museum of Modern Art the founders did not themselves provide a central endowment (the traditional means of providing an institution with a financial core and the wherewithal with which to build up any collection). [60] Instead, it appears that they intended that the new museum's collections be formed by gifts from a variety of private collectors.[61] This meant that there was little or no certainty that the new institution would indeed function as a 'patron'. However, although Barr early on expressed his concern to Abby Rockefeller about the lack of sufficient funds with which to build up a collection, [62] it was only in the early nineteen thirties that any efforts were made to raise any endowment at all.[63] However, this endowment was not intended to provide funds for the purchase of new works, but was occasioned by the need to raise \$1 million to fulfill the requirement of the 1931 Elizabeth Bliss bequest that, before her collection passed to the museum she had helped found, such a sum be raised to ensure the safekeeping of the collection and the long-term existence of the museum. However, in light of the economic difficulties of the time this requirement was lowered to \$750,000, of which \$600,000 had been pledged by 1934. [64]

The ability of the Museum of Modern Art to fulfil a patronage role was indeed intimately tied up with gifts. Even with regard to

purchase funds the Museum of Modern Art was as dependent upon acts of individual generosity as it was for donations of actual art works. It was 1935, when Abby Rockefeller gave \$1,000 (which Barr spent upon avant-garde European art whilst preparing for the "Abstract Art and Cubism" and "Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism" exhibitions held in 1936 - 1937) before the museum had any monies for purchasing work.^[65] Also in 1935 the Junior Advisory Committee raised a separate fund (which between then and 1939 provided the museum with \$4,500). In 1936 Rockefeller anonymously presented two further amounts - \$2,500 for the acquisition of American art, and \$2,000 for the purchase of foreign works. In all, available funds between 1935 and 1937 totalled \$8,650. It was only in 1938 that the museum had its first significant purchase funds.^[66] The first of these, \$20,000 for general purchases, was provided by Abby Rockefeller (and supplemented by an additional \$11,500 from her son, Nelson). This fund was renewed at the same level in 1939, but subsequently diminished in value.^[67] The second arose when Mrs Simon Guggenheim offered to furnish funds for the acquisition of 'masterpieces'. Initially specific sums were given - for instance, in 1938 she gave \$10,000 to buy Pablo Picasso's "Girl Before a Mirror" (1932),^[68] and in 1939 presented the \$30,000 necessary to acquire Henri (le Douannier) Rousseau's "Sleeping Gypsy" (1897).^[69] However, from circa 1940 onwards an annually renewable fund was made available (at first it was about \$50,000, but by the early nineteen sixties had risen to \$150,000).^[70] This fund meant that the Museum of Modern Art was able, for the first time, to buy highly-priced works of major importance, works which it was felt would make a valuable contribution to the collection.^[71] In addition, from the early nineteen forties onwards, there were a number of relatively small

purchase funds, in the main provided by museum trustees such as A. Conger Goodyear and James Thrall Soby.^[72] Although most of these smaller funds were unrestricted, one of the larger, the "Inter-American Purchase Fund" (\$25,000 provided anonymously by Nelson Rockefeller for the acquisition of Latin American art) was not.^[73] In 1942 Barr has estimated that the purchase funds then available were \$80,680.^[74] It was only in the late nineteen fifties that the museum was given another significant new purchase fund, this time by the collector Larry Aldrich. In this Aldrich provided a sum of \$10,000 per annum (with a ceiling price of \$1,000 set on the works bought), exclusively for the purchase of work by young unknowns.^[75] However, these individual purchase funds were, on the whole, unimportant in the numerical growth of the museum's collections (by 1948 they had provided only some 25 per cent of accessions) ^[76] - although the Mrs Simon Guggenheim Fund did enable the museum to buy 69 of its most important and expensive works - such as Roger de la Fresnaye's "Conquest of the Air" (1913), Fernand Léger's "Three Women" (1921), Henri Matisse's "The Red Studio" (1911), plus Picasso's "Three Musicians" (1921) and "Night Fishing at Antibes" (1939). ^[77]

Gifts of art works were undoubtedly the most important means by which the Museum of Modern Art's collections grew. Indeed in its first decade the value of gifts (\$645,260) was more than ten times that of purchases.^[78] In the first half of the nineteen forties (at a time when a number of purchase funds were available) gifts and bequests (more important paintings and sculptures only) appear to have approximately equalled purchase. In the first half of the nineteen fifties the former outnumbered purchases by approximately two to one. The most notable of the large bequests were: the

Elizabeth Bliss Bequest of 69 mainly late nineteenth and early twentieth century European paintings and sculptures (most importantly 11 Cézanne oils and 15 watercolours), Abby Rockefeller's predominantly American collection of 36 oils and 105 watercolours given in 1935, the Katherine Dreier Bequest of 102 works ranging from Archipenko to Kurt Schwitters (given in 1953) and the Philip Goodwin collection of some 3 dozen works (bequeathed in 1958).^[79] During the period in question the Museum was also promised large numbers of art works, works which entered the museum collections in the subsequent two decades. Collections built up during the period in question, and promised to the Museum in their entirety or in part included those of Nelson Rockefeller, James Thrall Soby and Sidney Janis.^[80] The great majority of gifts were, not unexpectedly, of single works (although in the case of some donors these might over the years come to total a substantial group).^[81]

The degree of dependence of the Modern upon gifts made it vulnerable to the fact that its collections might represent, not the most significant in modern art, but artists and works favoured by trustees and donors.^[82] The degree to which the Whitney and Guggenheim museums relied upon a single source for their finance concentrated a great deal of power in the hands of the founders, and subsequently the founders' families,^[83] although the degree to which this power was exercised did differ between the two institutions. Mrs Whitney was content to remain in the background, leaving the running of the museum to Mrs Force. Subsequently the Whitney family appear to have been content to play an executive role, overseeing financial matters but leaving policy decisions to the museum staff.^[84] They did exhibit, however, something of a proprietorial attitude toward the museum.^[85] The power relation

between patron and institution had a distinctly more overt expression at the Guggenheim where the trustees took a more positive role in policy decisions. In particular, they appear to have been responsible for the change in emphasis in the early nineteen fifties from non-objective painting to a more comprehensive collection of modern art.

Eventually pressures built up which forced both the Whitney and Guggenheim Museums to look for support to supplement their founders' generous endowments. In both cases the stimulus was the need to augment existing acquisition funds, under pressure from rising prices and the spiralling costs of the museums' running expenses caused for the most part by the expansion of their premises. At the Whitney Museum independence from any outside sources was maintained until 1948, at the Guggenheim Museum until the early nineteen fifties. At the Whitney the refusal to accept gifts had been due to fears that pressure might be put on the museum by outside donors (whether collectors, artists or dealers). The first gift of an art work to enter the collection was Ben Shahn's "The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti" (1931-32), given by collectors Edith and Milton Lowenthal in "memory" of Juliana Force.^[86] At the Guggenheim Museum gifts were for the first time accepted after 1952, with the change-over from the directorship of the museum from Rebay to Sweeney. Approximately a quarter of accessions at the latter museum between 1952 - 1959 were gifts (of a total of 240, 178 were purchases and 62 gifts).^[87] The most important single donation of the period was the Katherine Dreier Bequest in 1953, which added 28 works to the collection.^[88]

Both the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney Museum used

special sales of work in their collections as a means to to augment their acquisition funds. In both institutions, however, the policy was that public sales did not include the work of living American artists (lest such sales jeopardise the artist's reputation).^[89] In 1944 the Modern held an auction of some nineteenth century works and pieces which were duplicates or not considered to be "worthy of an ideal collection".^[90] In particular, the proceeds of this sale (\$64,070) were intended to provide funds for the purchase of more modern works to fill lacunae in the collections - on the one hand of more expensive 'master-works' and on the other, for the relatively modestly-priced work of living (particularly American) artists. In addition to this sale, money for the purchase of more recent work was also raised when the Modern sold 26 works considered "classic" rather than "modern" to the Metropolitan Museum under the terms of the "Three Museum Agreement" (1947 - 1948).^[91] The Whitney disposed of its 'historical' collection in 1949, after the cancellation in 1948 of plans to amalgamate the Whitney and the Metropolitan Museum, ^[92] and the subsequent announcement of future co-operation between the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney in their purchasing of American art.^[93] Subsequently the \$250,000 realised at this sale was used to buy works by living artists.^[94] In 1952, the proceeds from a benefit exhibition held at the Wildenstein Galleries were spent within the year on works by living artists.^[95]

The very different financial structures of these museums, however, meant that reactions to these sales were quite different. Owing to the fact that the monies for accessions at the Whitney all came, in the last resort, from Mrs Whitney, no controversy appears to have accompanied this auction. However, because of the Modern's

dependence upon donations and concern that the growth of the museum's collection might be jeopardised if potential donors were antagonised by the possibility that their gifts might at some point be publicly disposed of, [96] such deaccessioning by the Modern was controversial and, despite the claim in the sale catalogue that "it is our intention to perpetuate the generosity of donors ... by making sure that their names are applied only to works comparable in importance to those originally given ..." and the theoretical fluidity of the permanent collections, such a sale was never again repeated. [97]

Despite the lack of any endowment income which could be used for purchases, the success of the Modern's staff in attracting donations, together with the proceeds from the sale of unwanted works, enabled the Modern's spending upon accessions to rise substantially from the \$8,650 total spent in the first 8 years to the \$50,000 - \$100,000 spent annually by the early nineteen fifties, [98] and the size of the painting and sculpture collections to increase dramatically over the years. The first work to be given to the Modern (by Stephen C. Clark) was Edward Hopper's "The House by the Railroad" (1925), and by the end of the year the collection consisted of 12 works (all gifts).[99] The next 3 years saw the addition of only 9 more works (one was the first important European modern painting to enter the collection, Otto Dix's "Dr Mayer-Hermann", 1926) but in 1935, after the Bliss Bequest, the collection comprised 73 paintings and 18 sculptures (given by 17 donors).[100] By 1940 there were 713 paintings and sculptures with a total value of \$707,664. This total broke down into 324 American paintings and sculptures (by 75 artists), 45 nineteenth century French works and 214 School of Paris pieces (by

81 artists). Out of this the French works constituted 79 per cent of the total value of the collection.^[101] In the mid-forties the Modern owned 827 paintings and sculptures and some 400 works on paper by European artists, ^[102] 326 pieces by Latin American artists, and 1645 works by 300 North Americans.^[103] The Modern's policy with regard to American art, of concentrating upon new production rather than building a comprehensive collection, meant that although such art numerically constituted about half of the collection, ^[104] few American artists were featured in any depth and many were for a long time only represented by an early work rather than mature pieces. Just prior to the Museum's twenty-fifth anniversary in 1954 the painting and sculpture collections numbered 829 paintings and 210 sculptures, with a total value of \$2,500,000.^[105] By the time of the third edition of the catalogue in 1958 1360 works by artists of 40 different nationalities were listed.

Although the fundamental factor governing the character of a museum's functioning as 'patron' was the provision (or not) of assured purchase funds - a circumstance which would suggest that the Whitney and Guggenheim museums would function in much the same manner - the respective histories of the Whitney and Guggenheim Museums did differ in practice. The collection of the Whitney grew steadily within its remit of "keeping pace with every vital manifestation in contemporary American art", while that of the Guggenheim increased only sporadically and patchily.

At the Whitney, over the period 1932 -1936, 154 works were bought for the permanent collection (including 53 paintings and 14 sculptures). ^[106] By 1937 185 items (including 66 paintings and

16 sculptures) had been added.[107] In the latter year the collection had grown to 800 paintings, 134 sculptures and 1,000 graphic works (included in this total are a series of murals done by Thomas Benton for the Museum library and 63 American folk paintings).[108] The Museum made 295 acquisitions between 1938 and 1948, of which 51 were sculptures.[109] From 1949 to 1954 249 works were added to the collection, [110] which in 1954 totalled 1033 works, including 490 paintings and 134 sculptures.[111] The majority of accessions came from shows held in the museum, in particular the painting and sculpture Annuals, in continuation of the tradition of the Whitney Studio Club. The apparent decrease in the collection's size in the early nineteen fifties is accounted for by the sale of nineteenth century works. The rate of accession actually increased after 1951, with 24 accessions in 1950 and 55 in 1953.[112]

At the Museum of Non-Objective Painting, the large core collection of approximately 800 works belonging to the Guggenheim Foundation in 1939 remained the greater part of the collection for many years, as the frenetic buying activity of the late nineteen thirties was quickly curtailed once the Museum of Non-Objective Painting opened its doors. During the first three quarters of the nineteen forties little more than 100 works (dominated by 40 additional works by Kandinsky and a group of 20 paintings and objects by Moholy-Nagy) [113] were added (in comparison to the 400 added in the two years 1937 - 1939).[114] There was a stress on buying "only what would be an improvement to our collection".[115] The most important addition to the Foundation collection for many years came almost accidentally in 1948, when the estate (approximately 550 paintings) of the recently-deceased dealer

Karl Nierendorf was acquired: bringing the total number of Kandinskys in the museum collection up to 180. [116] This paucity of accessions was due to the fact that both Guggenheim and Rebay apparently considered the collection to be a finite unit by the middle nineteen forties, although the addition of the occasional important work might be contemplated.[117] The commission of the architect Frank Lloyd Wright to design a permanent home for the Foundation's collection,[118] one in which the paintings could be installed in a fixed display (Rebay envisaged having the paintings built into the walls), demonstrates this.[119] However, with the addition of the Nierendorf and Guggenheim estates, the total Foundation collection by 1951 consisted of more than 1400 works by approximately 200 artists. [120] There was a complete hiatus in the growth of the collection between 1949 (when Guggenheim died and bequeathed the remainder of his private collection to the Foundation) and 1952 (when Rebay was forced to retire for reasons of ill-health), [121] and it was only under the directorship of James Johnson Sweeney that a vigorous acquisition programme was re-commenced. Under Sweeney buying, for the first time, did not concentrate primarily on "non-objective" painting and particular attention was paid to filling some of the lacunae created by the previous acquisition policy [122] - in particular sculpture (when Rebay retired in 1952 the only three-dimensional work in the collection was a limited number of "structures" by Naum Gabo and Moholy-Nagy), and works by post-war European and American artists.[123] By 1959 the sculpture collection had been built up to 44 pieces including 9 by Constantin Brancusi.[124] Altogether, between 1952 - 1959, the collection grew by 240 works and, by 1959, when the Guggenheim Museum opened in its new Frank Lloyd Wright designed premises, the collection totalled more than 2500

works.[125]

At the Museum of Modern Art all prospective accessions had to be presented before a 10 member Acquisitions Committee consisting of trustees, the Director of Collections (Barr), and departmental directors, and all had to be approved by the committee as a whole.[126] Suggestions for possible accession could theoretically be made by any member of the committee, but in practice such proposals usually came from the museum staff. Prior to any meeting staff would frequent exhibitions and galleries, and make some initial pre-selections. If the work could not be reserved, then the trustees on the Committee would be contacted and asked to view the work individually so that a collective decision could be taken.[127]

The guiding light behind the direction and composition of the collections appears to have been the Director of Collections, Barr, if one is to believe curator Dorothy Miller [128]

"..... we had a wonderful acquisitions committee, ... Barr would make these incredibly eloquent speeches as to why we should get that particular [work] the committee was just mesmerised by Alfred's conviction, and would be convinced and buy the works." [129]

It is, of course an exaggeration to suggest that Barr got every work he wanted through the Committee. However, failing this, he was sometimes able to resort to persuading a trustee or collector to buy the disputed work, with the idea that he/she would present it to the museum at some later date (in this case it would almost certainly be accepted): [130] a tactic most often used with respect of work of a more radical nature which jarred the sensibilities of the older and more conservative trustees. The museum staff had no discretion for many years to initiate any

purchases without first referring to the committee. Indeed, it was only in the nineteen fifties that Barr was given the dispensation to spend small sums without prior permission. Barr apparently also had considerable influence in preventing certain gifts, or prospective gifts, from being accepted by the Committee. A minor work might be accepted if the collections were lacking in examples of that style or artist and/or it was hoped that an exchange might be effected later. If the work was not considered good enough, or if it was thought that it was being offered for promotional reasons, then it was likely to be politely declined. [131]

At the Whitney there were some changes in acquisition procedures over the years. From 1931 until the her death in 1948 Juliana Force had sole responsibility for acquisition choices. Following her death an Acquisitions Committee was introduced, consisting of the Director, the Assistant Director, the curators and the trustees. However, control over acquisitions remained effectively in the staffs' hands as the committee only met about once a year and the trustees were content to rubber-stamp the staffs' choices.[132] Although reviews of the collection were held periodically any rigorous weeding and pruning of the collection was precluded by the museum's policy never to sell the work of a living American artist, unless it was to obtain a more important piece by the same artist: in consequence, the only major de-accessioning was the afore-mentioned group of nineteenth century works.

At the Museum of Non-Objective Painting there does not appear to have been the same system of committees. It would seem that Foundation/museum purchases post-1937 continued to be made in much the same manner as Guggenheim's own private ones earlier in the

decade. There does not appear to have been a set purchase fund within which Rebay had discretion to buy and, according to her, Guggenheim, while consulting her, exercised a personal veto over entrants to the museum collection.^[133] An important degree of control over the funds available for acquisitions appears to have passed to the trustees after Guggenheim's death, for they were apparently able to curtail Rebay's available purchase funds sharply in the years 1949 - 1952 when dissatisfied with her administration of the museum. Sweeney had sole control over the critical complexion of acquisition decisions after 1952, although the board of trustees reserved the right of budgetary approval.

The tightly controlled nature of the acquisitions procedures at the Whitney and Guggenheim museums meant that the function of these institutions did indeed adhere quite closely to the pre-ordained paths laid out by the founders and/or museum directors. However, at the Modern, despite the insistence of Barr that any work to enter the collections should be "the authoritative indication of what the Museum stands for", ^[134] the Modern's dependence on gifts did cause a number of divergences between the actual development of the collections and policies as outlined in 1929. First, although the initial aim was to build a collection of art too "controversial" for other New York museums, for years the museum collections were weighted towards late nineteenth and early twentieth century works. For instance, in 1940 48 out of 713 works (6.7 per cent) in the Modern's collection were nineteenth century French (and constituted 45 per cent of the total value of the collection), ^[135] while 193 (27 per cent) were dated 1920 or before. In 1948 190 paintings out of a total of 797 were pre-1920, that is, approximately 25 per cent. In 1953, accessions in the previous

3 years had totalled 197 paintings and sculptures by 119 artists - of these 112 had been executed 1923 or before and 56 came from two pre-1930 collections bequeathed to the museum. Second, although in 1948 some 60 per cent of paintings in the American collection had been produced 1930 or after, the museum found it difficult to fulfil its stated aim of building a "daring" and "exclusive" collection of American art,[136] a fact which was admitted by Barr after the Museum's first decade.[137]

These discrepancies reflected the relatively conservative taste of many early donors, the lack of any substantial regular unrestricted purchase funds, and the greater willingness of collectors to make donations of the critically more prestigious European modern art. With respect to gifts, over the decade 1945 - 1955, nearly six times more important European works were given than American (the great majority of the former were from 1930 or before, the latter post-1940). In terms of relative amounts spent upon European and American art, only a small proportion of the whole budget was generally spent upon the latter - for instance, in 1949 - 1950, of the \$90,000 spent only \$14,000 was used to buy American art [138] - although this imbalance was in part attributable to the museum's purchase of highly priced European master-works (nearly 90 per cent of purchases made with the Mrs Simon Guggenheim Fund during the period under discussion were of European art). Another manifestation of how dependence on donors affected the composition of the collections was the influence that restricted purchase funds could have: the Inter-American Fund, for example, pushed the museum into acquiring art that was more a reflection of the donor's political interests than the aim of the museum collections.[139]

Conversely, it was the strict adherence to the policies of their founders which led to problems for the Whitney and Guggenheim museums in fulfilling their roles as public institutions. At the Whitney, its concentration on the Annuals as a source of accessions meant that the quality of its collection tended to reflect the standard of the work shown - something which, until the museum took the decision in 1940 to select both artists and the specific works included in the Annuals, was not under the museum's total control.^[140] Moreover, there were other problems, and although the intention had been to build a collection which emphasised "the present and the future" ^[141] it would be more accurate to state that purchases for many years (although exclusively of living artists) tended to emphasise older artists who had achieved their mature styles by the nineteen twenties or early nineteen thirties (particularly those who had been associated with earlier Whitney ventures). Indeed, although the majority of purchases over the years were of recent production, an analysis of contemporary artists who entered the collection in the two decade up to 1954 reveals that some 25 per cent had been born by 1890 or between 1890 - 1900 respectively, while about a third had been born 1900 - 1910. Moreover, by 1954, some 60 per cent of the total of works which had entered the collection since 1932 were by artists born before 1900. The stress upon catholicity and contemporaneity of production had the advantage that work by established artists was included alongside early purchases of new talent; but the disadvantage that the latter were not necessarily followed up to create an in-depth representation of an artist's work as he/she became established - in consequence the collection became rather thinly spread.^[142]

The deliberate emphasis which the Whitney placed upon

functioning as a patron of the contemporary American artist was applauded by some quarters, as for instance by the artist Andrew Dasburg in 1936.

"Occasional museum purchases favoring men with established names do not contribute to the general welfare of artists. An outstanding exception is the Whitney Museum which has gone beyond the academic collecting of reputations. It has created a living relationship with artists Its liberal attitude supports and seeks . all intelligent means of assistance It not only brings the new generation before the public, but makes discriminating purchases by way of encouragement." [143]

However, the Whitney drew criticism from other quarters for becoming "a de-luxe kind of orphan asylum for the 'abandoned' American artist". [144] It was pointed out that the kind of (effectively private) patronage pattern which the Museum followed, and the resulting composition of its collection, was not necessarily compatible with its function as a public institution.

In summation of the functioning of these institutions as effective 'patrons' the Guggenheim and Whitney museums, as has been seen, continued the private enthusiasms of their founders and, in consequence, their role as 'patrons', as accumulators, must be seen as the prime rationale behind their existence (despite their situation in the public domain as incorporated 'educational' institutions): they were "glorified private collection(s) at the public service".[145] Conversely, it was perhaps inevitable that the Museum of Modern Art's financial structure, and its projected role as necessarily a beneficiary of public largesse, would create tensions between the aims for the collection and the actuality, particularly in the development of this collection; and mean that this museum's role as patron was relegated to a secondary position in relation to its overwhelming need to create a public for modern art and itself, its role as 'tastemaker'.

NOTES

- 1 Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney was the granddaughter of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, who had amassed a vast fortune in the nineteenth century in railroad stock; and the wife of the equally wealthy Harry Payne Whitney, who on his death in 1930 left an estate valued at \$60,000,000. New York Times - 18/4/1942; p 15. She trained under Rodin as a sculptor, and became well known for her public monumental sculpture - Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number N587.
Solomon R. Guggenheim was the son of Meyer Guggenheim, and one of 5 brothers who built up extensive wealth through mining interests, particularly copper - John H. Davis: The Guggenheims - An American Epic.
- 2 New York Herald Tribune: 18/11/1931; p 5.
Juliana Force: "The Whitney Museum of American Art" - Creative Art: IX (1931): 5; pp 387 - 389.
- 3 Susan Platt Noyes: Responses to Modern Art in New York in the 1920s (University of Texas at Austin, PhD thesis, 1981); p 337.
- 4 Ibid; p 344.
Lillie Bliss began collecting modern art at the time of the Armory Show in 1913; as did Abby Rockefeller, wife of John D. Rockefeller Jr. Mary Quinn Sullivan trained as an art teacher in America and Europe, and her lawyer husband was a friend of collector John Quinn. Russell Lynes: Good Old Modern; pp 4 - 8.
- 5 A. Conger Goodyear: The Museum of Modern Art - The First 10 Years; p 14. "A 'Luxembourg'" - Art Digest: September 1929; pp 5, 15, 16. "Modern Art Museum Founded In New York" - Art News: XXVII (1928 - 29): 40; pp 1, 3. A. Phillip McMahon: "A New Museum of Modern Art" - Parnassus: I (1929): VI; p 31. "Modern Art Museum Opens in New York" - Art News: XXVIII (1929 - 1930): 6; pp 3, 17. "New York Season" - Art Digest: Mid-November 1929; p 16.
- 6 For much of the historical material pertaining to these organisations I am indebted to
Daty Healy: "A History of the Whitney Museum of American Art 1931 - 1954" (University of New York, unpublished PhD thesis, 1960); pp 2 - 85.
- 7 Elizabeth McCausland: "The Daniel Gallery and Modern Art" - Magazine of Art: XLIV: 7; pp 80 - 85.
Margaret Breuning: "Macbeth Gallery: Six Decades of Art by Americans Only" - Art Digest: 15/4/1952; p 7.
James W. Lane: "Newman Emerson Montross" - Creative Art: January 1933; pp 51 - 55.
Oliver Larkin: "Alfred Steiglitz and 291" - Magazine of Art: XL: 5; pp 179 - 183. William Innes Homer: Alfred Steiglitz and the American Avant-Garde.
- 8 Whitney Museum of American Art: "Juliana Force and American Art"; pp 51 - 52.
- 9 Juliana Force: Catalogue of the Collection of the Whitney Museum of American Art (1931); Foreword; unpaginated.
Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2374.
- 10 Whitney Museum of American Art: "Juliana Force and American Art", exh. cat.; pp 56 - 57.
- 11 Rebay, a painter, had settled in New York in the mid nineteen twenties and in her studio displayed the work of various

- European non-objectivists in an informal gallery. For her history prior to 1928, and her meeting with Solomon R Guggenheim see - Joan M. Lukach: Hilla Rebay; pp 1 - 51.
- 12 Lukach: ibid; pp 50 - 55. Interview with Solomon R. Guggenheim, Plaza Hotel, New York, 10/2/1937, scrapbook, Hilla Rebay Foundation Archive, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
 - 13 Lukach: op cit; pp 55 - 58.
 - 14 Lukach: op cit; p 81.
 - 15 The work was usually acquired by Guggenheim and Rebay direct from artists on trips to Europe (a method preferred because it helped to limit the amount spent), but a number of people, including Bauer and the critic Felix Fénéon, acted as scouts at other times. Both Guggenheim and Rebay disliked buying from dealers because of what they considered to be the unreasonably high prices charged. Where artists refused to sell except through their dealers e.g. Matisse and Picasso this made it difficult to obtain high quality works (although they managed to acquire a number of Picassos in the mid-thirties they were never able to buy a Matisse they liked). Lukach: op cit; pp 87 - 91.
 - 16 Guggenheim in this ambition may well have been influenced by the founding of the Museum of Modern Art with a central core of Rockefeller support, and if he held such ambitions in 1929 this was before the Metropolitan had refused the Whitney collection. It must be remembered that it 1929 when he began his collection he was already 67 years old, and in retirement from the Guggenheim family business interests. It is also likely that he was spurred on in his desire for some more permanent public recognition by the philanthropic efforts of his brothers - Simon had founded the well-known foundation providing grants to needy artists, while other brothers had founded ones to further the causes of dental health and aviation.
 - 17 Lukach: op cit; pp 83, 92.
 - 18 For a full list of artists included see: "Solomon R Guggenheim Collection of Non-Objective Paintings", exh. cat., Gibbes Memorial Art Museum, Charleston, South Carolina, March 1 - April 12, 1936, Archives, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
For reviews see: "Abstractionists Invade Solid South" - Art Digest; 1/4/1936; p 9. "A Show Without Objects" - Newsweek; 7/3/1936; p 27.
 - 19 Of the Bauers shown 31 belonged to Rebay, as did 13 of the Kandinskys. For a full list of artists see: "Solomon R Guggenheim Collection of Non-Objective Paintings", exh. cat., Philadelphia Art Alliance, Philadelphia, 8 - 28 February 1937, Archives, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. Lukach: p 96.
"Non-Objects" - Time; 15/2/1937; p 36.
 - 20 "Solomon R Guggenheim Collection of Non-Objective Paintings", exh. cat., Gibbes Memorial Art Gallery, Charleston, South Carolina, 12 March - 17 April 1938; "Solomon R Guggenheim Collection of Non-Objective Paintings", exh. cat., Baltimore Museum of Art, 6 - 29 January 1939, Archives, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
For a discussion of the growth of the collection in this period see Lukach: op cit; pp 103 - 108.
 - 21 "400 Non-Objectives" - Art Digest; 1/4/1939; p 13. "Like Sun" - Time; 12/6/1939; pp 36 - 37.
 - 22 Goodyear: op cit; p 138.
In 1924, after the dispersal of John Quinn's collection, critic Forbes Watson had called for the setting up of a modern art museum along such lines. "Editorial" - The Arts; January 1926; p 4.

- 23 "The Museum Collections - A Brief Report", 1944, quoted in: "Chronicle of the Collections 1929 - 1967" - Alfred H. Barr: Painting and Sculpture in the Museum of Modern Art 1929 - 1967 (An Illustrated Catalog and Chronicle); p 630.
- 24 "A New Art Museum" (1929 statement): quoted in Barr: *ibid*; p 620.
- 25 Barr, quoted (p 32) in Geoffrey Hellman: "Profile of A Museum" - Art in America: 1964: 1; pp 27 - 38.
- 26 "Director's Report to the Trustees on the Long Range Future of the Collections", 1933 - quoted in: Betty Chamberlain: "History of the Museum of Modern Art"; p 20, unpublished typescript, History Archive, Museum of Modern Art.
- 27 "New Acquisitions in American Painting" - Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XI (1944): 4.
- 28 Barr: "Chronicle of the Collections 1929 - 1967": *op cit*; p 622.
- 29 "The Museum of Modern Art" (p 77) - Fortune: December 1938; pp 73 - 77, 127, 128, 131, 132.
- 30 "Advisory Committee Report" (1935) - Chamberlain: *op cit*; p 18.
- 31 "An Important Change of Policy" - Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XX (1953): 3 - 4; p 3. Sandra Knox: "New Policy on Art Set Up by Museum" - New York Times: 15/2/1953; p 76.
- 32 "Mrs Whitney's Museum" - New York Times: 4/1/1930; p 16. "Mrs Whitney's Museum" - New York Times: 12/1/1930: VIII; p 11. Art News: 20/3/1930; p 9. "The Whitney Idea" - Art Digest: 15/3/1931; p 12. "The Whitney Museum of American Art Formally Opened" - Art News: 21/11/1931; pp 5, 7. "Whitney Museum Opens, Setting a New Milestone in American Art" - Art Digest: 1/12/1931; pp 9, 32. "Mrs Whitney's American Art Museum Opens" - New York Herald Tribune: 18/11/1931; p 5.
- 33 New York Times: 4/1/1930; p 16.
- 34 "Whitney Museum Opens in Fall" - Art News: 29/3/1930; p 1, 9.
- 35 Lloyd Goodrich: "Past, Present and Future" - Art in America: LIV (1966): September/October 1966; pp 30 - 31.
- 36 New York Times: 4/1/1930; p 16.
- 37 Whitney Museum of American Art: Catalogue of the Collection, 1931; p 9.
- 38 Press release by Messrs Stanchfield and Levy (attorneys), 29/6/1937 - Solomon R Guggenheim Collection, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number N/SRGl.
- 39 "Museum for Non-Objective Art is Planned by S R Guggenheim" - New York Herald Tribune: 29/6/1937; p 1. "Guggenheim Fund for Art is Set Up" - New York Times: 29/6/1937; p 1. "Copper into Art" - New York Times: 1/7/1937; p 26.
Other articles noted that Guggenheim's collection of non-objective painting was to form the nucleus of the projected museum but hoped that the wider remit of the foundation would be followed: Peyton Boswell: "The Guggenheim Angle" - Art Digest: 1/8/1937; p 3. "Guggenheim's Modern Art Foundation" - Art News: 18/9/1937; p 16.
- 40 "Baroness Rebay to be Curator" - New York Times: 30/7/1937; p 21.
- 41 Lukach: *op cit*; pp 157 - 159, 269 - 273.
- 42 Initially Guggenheim had considered the possibility of building a pavilion to display the collection at the World's Fair then being staged in New York, but abandoned this idea in favour of more permanent premises in New York City. Lukach: *op cit*; pp 138 - 141.
- 43 For a full list see the fifth catalogue of "Solomon R Guggenheim Collection of Non-Objective Paintings", 1939. Archives, Solomon R Guggenheim Museum.

- Also: "Major Exhibit of Guggenheim Art is Planned" - New York Herald Tribune: 5/4/1939; p 21. Art Digest: 1/6/1938; p 14. "Religious Cult Set to Incidental Music" - Art Digest: 1/6/1939; p 14. "Major Exhibition of Guggenheim Art is Planned" - New York Herald Tribune: 5/4/1939; p 21.
- The so-called "precursor" paintings belonging to the Guggenheim collection were kept in his private apartments at the Plaza Hotel, where they could be viewed on request. Lukach: op cit; p 141.
- 44 Lloyd Goodrich: Harlan Phillips, interview, 5/2/1963 (interview conducted over period 6/12/1962 - 25/3/1963). Archives of American Art.
- The fund of \$20,000 was announced at the time of the first Biennial: see the introduction to the catalogue for the first Biennial and "Whitney Biennial" - Art Digest: 1/12/1932; p 4. This higher amount was available at least until the middle 1930s - re F. Crocker, letter to Mrs G. McCulloch Miller, 8/2/1937, which states that the previous year the museum had spent \$30,000 on purchases and in consequence the sum that year would be held down to \$10,000. Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2374. When, in subsequent years, income was not always enough to cover running costs and purchases Mrs Whitney would make up the shortfall in the form of loans (by 1940 these loans totalled \$130,000). Whitney Museum of American Art, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2374.
- On p 27 of "Juliana Force and American Art" (1949), it is claimed that with respect to the Annuals a purchase fund of \$10,000 was set aside.
- 45 New York Times: 4/1/1930; p 6.
- 46 Healy quotes this as 2 separate amounts - one of \$1,132,500 and the second of \$790,000. Healy: op cit; p 228.
- The trust was created in November 1935 and the museum incorporated in March 1936. Under the terms of the endowment Whitney gave the museum: the works of art and furnishings in her personal gallery in the premises on West Eighth Street, the lease on said premises for a rent of \$1 per annum, 20,000 shares then worth \$1,200,000 (giving the museum an income of \$60,000 per annum), and \$100,000 in cash. Indenture, (27/11/1935), Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2374.
- 47 "Mrs Whitney Left Fortune to Public" - New York Times: 5/5/1942; p 23.
- 48 John I. H. Baur: Paul Cummings, interview, 12/2/1970, Archives of American Art.
- 49 Milton Lamask: Seed Money: The Guggenheim Story; p 188.
- 50 "Obituaries": Art News: XL (1948 - 49): December 1949; p 54.
- 51 Lloyd Goodrich: Harlan Phillips, interview, 5/2/1963, Archives of American Art.
- 52 Healy: op cit; p 274. "Juliana Force and American Art", (1948); Foreword.
- 53 The aims of this new organisation were stipulated as: to aid the Museum to increase its purchases of twentieth century American art; to aid members in the formation of their own collections: to undertake other programmes which might encourage the collection of American art - "Friends of the Whitney Museum of American Art: First Report", 20/4/1956, Roy R. Neuberger Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 54 Baur: op cit.
- "Lloyd Goodrich Reminisces": Journal of the Archives of

- American Art: 23: 1; p 20.
- 55 Members privileges were: invitations to all museum private views; admission to all museum exhibitions the afternoon before the public were admitted; permission to select work from the viewings of work by young artists; permission to borrow for personal use one work at a time from the Museum collections, plus staff would be available to advise Friends on their own collections.
 - 56 Purchases made with this money had to be approved at the end of the year at a meeting of the Friends' Acquisition Committee, which consisted of 5 members of staff and 5 Friends. However, although staff had a say in Friends-sponsored accessions, the latter had no authority over the Museum's own acquisition funds.
 - 57 Initially there were 18 members, a number which by March 1957 grown to 77. In May 1959 it had added 84 new members and lost 15; by 1960 it had about 170.
For documents and correspondence pertaining to the Friends organisation see Roy R. Neuberger Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
Dore Ashton: "Busy Year for Whitney Museum Friends" - New York Times: 5/1/1958: II; p 15.
 - 58 "Friends of the Whitney Museum of American Art: Second Report", December 1957 - 1 May 1981.
 - 59 Baur: op cit.
 - 60 They only set out to raise enough money, approximately \$300,000, to cover the running costs for the first 3 years.
 - 61 Any second thoughts were prevented by the change in economic climate caused by the Stock Market Crash of 1929.
 - 62 Alfred H. Barr: letter to Abby Rockefeller, 1931. Quoted in Lynes: op cit; p 286.
 - 63 Bliss had died in 1931 and left her collection to the Museum of Modern Art on the condition that \$1 million was raised to ensure the works' safe-keeping and the Modern's permanence. The bequest was released on the condition that a further \$150,000 was raised (the remaining \$250,000 was waived in recognition of the difficulty of raising large sums of money during the Depression.) Lynes: op cit; pp 79 - 83.
For details of the Bequest see Barr: "Chronicle of the Collections 1929 - 1967": op cit; pp 651 - 653.
 - 64 Goodyear: op cit; p 33. Lynes: op cit; p 80.
 - 65 Dorothy C. Miller: Paul Cummings, interview, 5/11/1970, Archives of American Art.
 - 66 Lynes: op cit; pp 301 - 302..
 - 67 Alfred H. Barr: memo to Jere Abbott, 10/1/1942, Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2166. Barr: "Chronicle of the Collection 1929 - 1967"; p 625.
 - 68 A painting which Barr regarded as the Museum's first important acquisition - Margaret Scolari Barr: Paul Cummings, interview, 8/4/1974, Archives of American Art. Miller: op cit.
 - 69 For a complete list of works bought with the help of this fund see: "Painting and Sculpture in the Museum of Modern Art 1929 - 1967"; p V.
"Museum with a Guggenheim" - Art News: L (1951 - 52): 10; pp 19, 20, 55, 56.
 - 70 Mrs Guggenheim ostensibly allowed the museum staff complete discretion in selection, but in practice nothing was bought if she expressed a dislike for it. Lynes: op cit; p 303.
 - 71 Miller: op cit; 18/5/1970.
 - 72 For a full list of these various funds one must consult the

- successive museum catalogues.
- For correspondence relating to various small purchase funds (arranged alphabetically and by date) see Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls number 2169 - 2177. (Originals owned by the Museum of Modern Art.)
- 73 With this 58 Central and South American works were acquired - Lynes: op cit; p 224.
 - 74 This consisted of \$45,000 from the Guggenheim Fund, \$25,000 from the Inter-American Fund, \$5,000 each from the Mrs John D. Rockefeller and an anonymous fund (both unrestricted) and \$680 residue from the Bliss Fund. Barr: "Chronicle of the Collections 1929 - 1967": op cit; p 634.
 - 75 Correspondence between Larry Aldrich and Alfred H. Barr, 1959 and 1963 - Larry Aldrich Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 76 "Painting and Sculpture in the Museum of Modern Art", exh. cat., 1948.
 - 77 In all works with a total cost of more than \$1 million, were purchased with the Guggenheim fund. Lynes: op cit; p 303.
 - 78 Barr: "Chronicle of the Collections 1929 - 1967": op cit; p 628.
 - 79 For a complete list of works acquired through the Bliss Bequest see Barr: *ibid*; pp 652 - 653.
The Bliss Bequest was exhibited in 1931 as "Memorial Exhibition: The Collection of Miss Lizzie P Bliss" and in 1934 as "The Lillie P Bliss Collection". See also:
Guy Pene du Bois: "The Lizzie P Bliss Collection" - The Arts: XVII (1931): 9; pp 601 - 612. James Johnson Sweeney: "The Bliss Collection" - Creative Arts: May 1931; pp 353 - 358.
For details of the Dreier Bequest see: Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XX (1953): 3 - 4; p 8.
For details of the Philip Goodwin Bequest see: Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XXVI (1958): 1; p 4 - 12.
 - 80 65 works were pledged to the Museum of Modern Art by Soby. "The James Thrall Soby Collection", exh. cat., M. Knoedler & Co/ The Museum of Modern Art, 2 - 25/2/1961.
Janis gave 103 works - "Three Generations of Twentieth-Century Art (The Harriet and Sidney Janis Collection of the Museum of Modern Art)", (1972) commemorates the gift.
Nelson Rockefeller eventually left 25 works to the museum. Barbara Gold: "Nelson A. Rockefeller Collection (Modern Works at MOMA)" - Arts: XLIII: 7; pp 28 - 31.
 - 81 For details of some of the most significant additions year by year consult Barr: op cit; pp 634 - 640.
 - 82 For instance, in 1930 Goodyear is reported to have said, albeit with respect to a loan exhibition, that "We only want the works of men owned by the Trustees. That's the only way we can run this Museum" - Lynes: op cit; p 71.
 - 83 The five member Board of the Whitney Museum consisted of 4 members of Mrs Whitney's family, including her daughter Flora Whitney Miller, the fifth member was the family solicitor.
The Trustees of the Guggenheim Foundation included Harry F Guggenheim (Solomon's nephew), Count and Countess Castle Stewart (his daughter and son-in-law), plus another daughter and a grandson, and a long-standing associate at Guggenheim Brothers, Albert F Thiele.
 - 84 Herman More, quoted in Healy: op cit; p 187.
 - 85 Whitney Museum of American Art: Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition, exh. cat., 1981.
 - 86 "Modernist Art from the Edith and Milton Lowenthal Collection",

- exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum, 21/3 - 10/5/1981.
- 87 "A Handbook to the Solomon R Guggenheim Museum Collection", (1959), Introduction; unpaginated.
 - 88 "Selections from the Guggenheim Museum Collection 1900 - 1970", p 10.
 - 89 At the Modern this policy referred also to Latin American artists but never to European works. This was a condition of the Rockefeller Bequest, and indeed was policy in the museum's early years at the insistence of A. Conger Goodyear. Lynes: op cit; pp 300 - 301.
 - 90 "Advisory Report on the Museum Collections", 1941 - Quoted in Barr: op cit; p 628.
 - 91 Lynes: op cit; pp 290 - 291.
For a complete list of works sold under this Agreement see Barr: op cit; p 654.
 - 92 Agreement Metropolitan - Whitney (draft), 1943, Whitney Museum of American Art Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2374. "Metropolitan, Modern, Whitney Co-ordinate Art Museum Field" - New York Herald Tribune: 22/9/1941; p 1. "Whitney Museum Collection Going to Metropolitan Museum" - New York Herald Tribune: 19/1/1943; p 1. "Whitney Museum Dies" - Art Digest: 1/2/1943; pp 5, 16.
 - 93 "Museum Merger Plan Dropped by Whitney" - New York Herald Tribune: 1/10/1948; pp 1, 25.
 - 94 "Whitney Museum Will Sell Art of 19th Century to Buy Moderns" - New York Herald Tribune: 9/12/1949; p 1. "Whitney Museum Will Replace Art" - New York Times: 9/12/1949; p 33. "Whitney To Offer Contemporary Art" - New York Times: 15/12/1949; p 44. Time: 26/12/1949; p 24.
 - 95 Whitney Museum: press release, 4/2/1952 - Quoted in Healy: op cit; p 274.
 - 96 A United States museum's right to dispose of work given to it is not entirely clear. Although according to the letter of Federal law a 'charitable' institution is only considered to be a steward of the work given to it for public enjoyment, most institutions (particularly those which did not receive any State or City finances), seem to have been allowed effective freedom to dispose of such gifts as they saw fit - as long as they did so discreetly.
Karl E. Meyer: The Art Museum: Power, Money, Ethics; pp 211 - 212.
 - 97 Lynes: op cit; p 296.
 - 98 Dwight MacDonald: "Action on Fifty-Third Street - II" - New Yorker: 19/12/1953; p 46.
 - 99 Barr: "Chronicle of the Collections 1929 - 1967"; p 621.
 - 100 Barr: ibid; p 624.
 - 101 Barr: ibid; pp 628, 629.
 - 102 Alfred Frankfurter: "The Model of a Major Modern Collection" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 5; p 18.
 - 103 James Thrall Soby: "The Collection of the Museum of Modern Art: Four Basic Policies" - Art In America: XXXII (1944): p 231.
 - 104 In 1940 there were 274 American paintings and 33 sculptures by 181 European paintings and 45 sculptures, while in 1945 there were 1237 works of art by European artists to 1643 by North Americans and 326 by Latin American artists.
 - 105 Dwight MacDonald: "Action on Fifty Third Street - I" - New Yorker: 12/12/1953; p 56.
 - 106 "Whitney Museum of American Art: Catalogue of the Collection", 1937; p 6.

- 107 Handwritten note appended to the copy of the 1937 Catalogue of the Whitney Museum Collection held in the Library of the Museum of Modern Art (figures taken from 1940 catalogue).
- 108 Healy: op cit; p 183.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Healy: ibid; p 276.
- 111 Whitney Museum of American Art: Catalogue of the Collection (1954): Introduction; unpaginated.
- 112 Healy: op cit; p 276.
- 113 These 20 works were bought from Moholy-Nagy for \$11,125 - Solomon R Guggenheim: letter to Rebay, 2/2/1948, Exhibition Archive, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. For works entering the collection in these years see: "The Guggenheim Museum Collection: Paintings 1880 - 1945" (1976): op cit.
- 114 In the absence of a comprehensive checklist of the collection I have deduced this figure from a comparison of: "Acquisitions of the 1930s and 1940s", (1968) and "The Guggenheim Museum Collection: Paintings 1880 - 1945".
- 115 Hilla Rebay - letter to Karl Nierendorf, 6/8/1946, Karl Nierendorf File, Archives, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
- 116 Included were 18 paintings by Kandinsky, 110 by Paul Klee, 6 Chagalls, 24 Lionel Feiningers and 54 Ludwig Kirchner watercolours and graphics. The Foundation paid \$72,500 for the entire estate, comprising 555 paintings and 4525 assorted prints, drawings and books. Clinton H. Hunt - letter to Hilla Rebay, 2/2/1948, Karl Nierendorf File, Archives, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
"Selections from the Guggenheim Museum Collection 1900 - 1970": p 9.
- 117 Lukach: op cit; p 192.
- 118 "Non-Objective Museum to Build Own Home" - Art Digest: 1/5/1944; p 10. "Ultra-Modern Museum to Rise in 5th Ave." - New York Times: 21/3/1944; p 36. "Frank Lloyd Wright's Museum" - Art Digest: 1/8/1945; p 3. "Another Academy?" - Art Digest: 1/8/1945; pp 14,23.
- 119 Lukach: op cit; pp 182 - 210.
- 120 "A Museum's Future" - New York Times: 5/8/1951: II; p 6. "Museum Changing Exhibition Policy" - New York Times: 5/8/1951; p 57. "Non-Objective Museum Plans to Grow" - New York Herald Tribune: 5/8/1951; p 24.
- 121 Aline B Louchheim: "Museum in Query" - New York Times: 22/4/1951: II; p 8.
- 122 "A Handbook to the Solomon R Guggenheim Museum Collection", (1959): Introduction; unpaginated.
"Selections from the Guggenheim Museum Collection 1900 - 1970": p 10.
- 123 From the 1953 "Younger Europeans" exhibition 26 works (one each by 26 of the 33 artists included) were acquired; from the 1954 "Younger Americans" a handful only.
- 124 Sam Hunter: "Museum Under New Management" (p 11) - Art Digest: 1/1/1954; pp 11, 32, 33.
- 125 Press Release, 21/10/1959, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum Subject File, Library, Museum of Modern Art.
- 126 "Acquisitions Procedure" - Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XII (1945): 4; p 13.
- 127 The drawback of this procedure was that if not all trustees in question could be reached then the work might be lost.
- 128 Barr claimed to have initiated 90 per cent of acquisitions - Alfred H. Barr: letter to A. H. Morey, 4/1/1948, Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2171.

- 129 Dorothy C. Miller, quoted on p 57 of: John Gruen: "Dorothy Miller in the Company of Modern Art": Art News: LXXV (1976): 9; pp 54 - 58.
- 130 In this context one of the most important donors was architect-trustee Philip Johnson, would bought and donated works from the 1930s onwards. Lynes: op cit; p 299.
- 131 Chamberlain: op cit; p 22.
- 132 John I. H. Baur: Paul Cummings, interview, 12/2/1970, Archives of American Art.
- 133 Hilla Rebay: letter to L. R. Ney, 23/6/1945, Hilla Rebay Archive, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
Rebay gave this as the reason why no Mondrian entered the collection until the late 1940s. Lukach: op cit; p 66.
- 134 "The Museum Collections - A Brief Report", (1944) - Barr: op cit; pp 269 - 630.
- 135 Ibid; p 628.
- 136 "IV: Practical Formation of the Permanent Collection", quoted in Barr: ibid; p 623.
- 137 Chamberlain: op cit; pp 20 - 21.
- 138 Alfred H. Barr: letter to Peyton Boswell, 2/6/1950, Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2178.
- 139 Rockefeller was appointed in 1942 to be Co-ordinator of Latin American Affairs by the Roosevelt administration as part of the war effort. The Rockefellers had extensive interests in the Central and Southern Americas as the owners of Standard Oil. Geoffrey T. Hellman: "Best Neighbour - I" - New Yorker: 11/4/1942; p 23 ff.
- 140 This tendency drew some criticism, particularly in the early years about the damage it was doing to the standard of the museum collection. Healy: op cit; pp 185 - 186. "Whitney Museum" - Parnassus: IV (1932): 7; p 1. "Whitney Museum Buys 28 Pictures, Making 35 Sales from Show" - Art Digest: 15/1/1933; p 3.
- 141 "Catalogue of the Collection", Whitney Museum of American Art, (1931); p 10.
- 142 Baur: op cit.
- 143 Andrew Dasburg: "Coming of Age" - Art Digest: 1/4/1936; p 16.
- 144 Nation: 18/11/1939; p 560.
- 145 Aline B. Saarinen: "Lively Gallery For Living Art" - New York Times: 30/5/1954; VIII; p 26.

CHAPTER 3: THE MODERN ART MUSEUM AS TASTEMAKER (MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART, MUSEUM OF NON-OBJECTIVE PAINTING/SOLOMON R GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM)

The commitment to a tastemaking role, that is, the promulgation of modern art in general and the promotion of both appreciation and a wider ownership, of the 3 museums concerned varied between a considerable and constant emphasis to patchy and irregular attempts to fulfil this function. At one pole one finds the Museum of Modern Art, whereat great and constant stress was placed upon this field of activity from the start. The founders of this institution apparently thought that the time had come when a more formalised public institution would be the best way to promote modern art.^[1] This was stressed at the time the museum was founded, for it was stated that the new museum would exist for

"the direct benefit of the public and for the indirect benefit of artists through educating the public to enjoy and buy contemporary art. our first responsibility as an educational institution is to the public. And we have felt that helping the public to admire and enjoy the art of its own time is the surest way to help living artists."
[2]

The initial proclamation of intent in 1937 of the Guggenheim Foundation too appeared to envisage a public role for its forthcoming institution, for it was stated that the projected institution was intended

"to provide for the promotion of art and for the mental and moral improvement of men and women by furthering their education, enlightenment and aesthetic taste, and by developing the understanding and appreciation of art by the public..."[3]

The aims of the Whitney Museum, as announced in 1930, were somewhat more modest, however, for it was only hoped that the new establishment would be able

"to discover how the gifted artist of today is reacting to the life which we share with them, to be made aware of the relation of the artist of today with the life of today."[4]

Indeed, the initial announcement almost appeared to reject any active tastemaking role, for it was asserted that

"It is no longer necessary for this organisation to help the younger artist gain a hearing. What is needed is a depot where the public may see fine examples of American production - and it is this need that we hope to fill [5]

Some change from the initial aims expressed above was apparent over time. After nearly 30 years Alfred Barr summed up the role of the Modern as a tastemaker with much the same conviction shown in the initial statement:

"... we must show the many disparate ... significant kinds of art our civilization has produced, and show them continuously in permanent galleries so that the public may have at all times a panoramic perspective of the visual arts of our period (and incidentally will not suppose that the museum is exclusively committed to the one kind of art which happens to be on display at the moment ...)" [6]

Over the years the Whitney's commitment to an active promotional role appears to have deepened from the caution of the first intentions - to the extent that in 1954 the then Director, Lloyd Goodrich, could claim of the Whitney that

"Its purpose is to promote the progress of American art, and to spread the knowledge and enjoyment of it among the people of this country and other countries. the Museum's most valuable function is not merely conserving tradition but playing an active part in the creative processes of its time." [7]

However, although the projected Guggenheim Foundation and its intended showcase had such a general brief the Baroness Rebay (who helped direct the Foundation's activities) apparently held beliefs antipathetic to any serious tastemaking intention and visualised the future museum as

".... a precious, priceless, non-commercial, and distinctive nucleus of influential masterpieces ... it is to be a quiet, peaceful, elevating sanctuary for those who need a cultural life" [8]

Even under a change in directorship and name in 1952, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum did not eagerly embrace the role of active

tastemaker, for James Johnson Sweeney asserted that

"Unlike other museums we have neither the responsibility for, nor interest in history, We want to present an inspirational stimulant by showing the high points of what is going on in the world of modern art." [9]

If the actual functioning of these institutions is examined it can be seen that this was closely related to their respective financial structures. As has been noted in the previous chapter, there was a major functional split between the Modern, which had no central endowment, and the Whitney and Guggenheim Museums, which had ample funds for running expenses and growth provided by their founders. This differentiation effectively meant that whereas the Guggenheim and Whitney Museums could be largely self-reliant (and were for most, if not all of the period under consideration) the Modern had to constantly seek to stimulate outside interest to ensure its continuing existence and growth. To counter the fact that income from its endowment covered only a small percentage of annual costs, indeed never more than 11 per cent, [10] the Modern was forced to stimulate as wide a support base as possible. One means was to attract support from the wealthy elite,[11] either directly in the form of cash subscriptions or indirectly by raising the status of private collecting among them and so encouraging the flow of donations of art works to supplement the collections. The second was to stimulate interest on the part of the general public. Unlike the Whitney, the Modern instituted a membership organisation, with a three-tier system of membership to attract as many people as possible, in order to bolster general revenue.[12]

If the histories of these 3 institutions is examined the relative importance to each of their tastemaking roles is clearly visible in their respective exhibition schedules. At the Modern

the special exhibition was the primary means of attracting the public. This institution had a wide-ranging exhibition schedule, designed to cover not only large historical retrospectives; but also periodic resumés of significant new developments in art, the occasional controversial show to stimulate discussion, educational exhibitions, shows which stressed the museum's own achievements; and displays which demonstrated the museum's commitment to the idea of the interrelationship of the arts. In the three decades following its establishment the Museum put on - in addition to regular displays of recent acquisitions, groups of works from the permanent collections and occasional summer loan shows - approximately 650 exhibitions in all (covering not only the fine arts but architecture, dance, design, theatre, photography and posters).^[13] Of the nearly 500 temporary (loan) exhibitions some 70 (of those specialising in the fine arts) were group or survey shows, some 110 concerned a single or a couple of artists, 14 were special displays of works in the museum's own collections and 13 were of works from private collections. In addition, the Modern sent out many shows (by 1955 it had sent out 253) via its Department of Circulating Exhibitions. Of these some had previously been staged at the Modern, while others were small, tailor-made displays designed for community centres and educational establishments.^[14]

At the Whitney, each season, two portions of the permanent collection were presented, plus an exhibition of new production (the Annuals) and a large solo retrospective. Moreover, the occasional large show of a more general nature, either historic or thematic, was also put on. Altogether by 1960 the Whitney had staged - in addition to the Annuals (one each year 1931 - 1936, two per annum from 1937 onwards) and regular displays from the permanent

collections - some 38 individual retrospectives and 33 group shows. The temporary exhibitions staged at the Guggenheim consisted of, in addition to regular selections from the museum collections, small group show displays of non-objectivists plus occasional major individual retrospectives. The actual tally of shows at the Guggenheim was not large: between 1940 and 1952 only 21 shows of the former type were staged plus six of the latter, while from 1953 to 1960, excluding selections from the museum collections, there were only 6 individual retrospectives and 2 mixed group shows.

At the Modern perhaps the most significant shows with respect to its function as a promulgator of modern art in general were the 'survey' exhibitions and the 'cultural theme' shows.^[15] The former covered a wide range of developments in twentieth century modern art: twentieth century German art in 1930 and 1953 (particularly Expressionism), European Cubism and Abstraction in 1936 and Dada and Surrealism in the same year, the Bauhaus in 1938, Italian (Futurist) art in 1949, American abstract art in 1951, De Stijl and Fauvism in 1952, Art Nouveau in 1960. Some of these exhibition introduced recent manifestations of European art in a manner which attracted a good deal of public attention - perhaps the best known of these were the 1936 "Cubism and Abstract Art" and "Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism" shows. In addition to these more narrowly-focused historical exhibitions the Modern staged a number of survey shows which were either didactic (such as the 1945 "What is Modern Painting?"), and thematic (for instance, the 1936 "New Horizons in American Art", the 1938 "American Folk Art", the 1943 "Romantic Painting in America", "Timeless Aspects of Modern Art" in 1948 or "Sculpture of the Twentieth Century" in 1953). The 'cultural' surveys encompassed both the fine and applied arts within

a linking theme - these included the 1934 "Machine Art" and the 1949 "Modern Art in Your Life" (this stress on cultural overview was also reiterated in the Museum's quinquennial anniversary shows, such as the 1939 "Art in Our Time"). The major exposure given to new developments (in European and American art) was via an irregular series of mixed group shows, the first of which was "Americans 1942: Eighteen Artists from Nine States" (others included the 1952 "Fifteen Americans", the 1955 "The New Decade: Twenty-Two European Painters and Sculptors" and the 1959 "The New American Painting").[16]

At the Modern individual artist retrospectives covered a wide gamut of twentieth century painters and sculptors, from 'masters' of European modern art - such as Constantin Brancusi (1954), Pierre Bonnard (1948), Marc Chagall (1946 & 1957)), Paul Klee (1941 & 1949), Henri Matisse (1951), Pablo Picasso (1939, 1941), Georges Rouault (1945 & 1953) and Vincent van Gogh (1935) - to younger artists such as Balthus (1956), Salvador Dali (1942), Matta (1957), Joan Miró (1942 & 1959), Henry Moore (1946) and Yves Tanguy (1955). Although fewer individual retrospectives of American artists were staged a similar range was exemplified in these - from Edward Hopper (1933), John Marin (1936) and Niles Spencer (1954) to Alexander Calder (1943), Jackson Pollock (1956), Ben Shahn (1947) and David Smith (1957). As can be seen from the dates of these exhibitions some of the artists were well-known by the time of their first presentation by the Modern, others were still somewhat controversial at the time of their first display but were established by the time of any subsequent show.

At the Whitney individual artist retrospectives were, until

1948, restricted to the work of dead or recently- deceased artists; [17] and included exhibitions by artists such as Gaston Lachaise (1937), Winslow Homer (1944) and Albert P. Ryder (1947). After this policy was amended in 1948 to allow the inclusion of living artists most of the retrospectives held featured these, or, as in the case of John Sloan (1952), those recently deceased (he died during the period taken to research the show). The stylistic range of the shows continued to be very wide. Just over half of the artists shown - such as Yasuo Kuniyoshi (1948), Hopper (1950), Charles Burchfield (1956) and Marin (1957) - were of an older generation that had been exhibiting in New York since the nineteen twenties, while the great majority of the remainder were post-war artists such as Arshile Gorky and Mark Tobey (both shown in 1951), Morris Graves (1956) and Hans Hofmann (1958). [18] Survey exhibitions over the years covered a wide range of historical, thematic or regional subjects. Historical exhibitions included such titles as "Abstract Painting in America" in 1935, "The Hudson River School" and "The Pioneers of Modern Art in America" (both in 1946) and "The New Decade: 35 American Painters and Sculptors" (1955), thematic shows included the 1949 "Juliana Force and American Art" and "Nature in Abstraction" in 1958, while regionally-inspired exhibitions (predominantly associated with the nineteen thirties) included such shows as the 1937 "Paintings by Philadelphia Artists" and the 1941 "This is New York" (selected from the permanent collection). Although the Whitney was devoted to the presentation of American art it did stage two exhibitions of non-American artists (both inspired by the presence of European artist-emigrés in New York during the Second World War) - "European Artists in America" (1945) and "Painting in France 1939 - 1946" (1946). [19]

A major portion of the Whitney's exhibition schedule was its large mixed annual exhibitions, which were intended to be a "comprehensive type of exhibition in which the recent work of American artists may be seen under favourable circumstances". [20] These initially alternated between painting one year and sculpture, watercolours, drawings and prints the next (prints were excluded from these shows after 1941), but from 1937 onwards an annual exhibition of each was staged (painting in November and the other media in the early spring) to enable the inclusion of more artists. This pattern continued with only the occasional interruptions (the 1939 - 1940, 1942 - 1943 and 1944 - 1945 seasons) for the rest of the period in question.[21] Participation in these Annuals was by invitation only, and the selection of the artists to be invited was made solely by the museum staff (it was felt that their better opportunities for regularly viewing current production made them better qualified to make the necessary choices than a jury).[22] In the nineteen thirties the artists selected were allowed to choose which work they wished to exhibit, but from 1940 onwards the museum staff reserved this right for themselves. After this the only Annual where the artists were allowed to make their own selection was that in 1953.[23] In the selection of these artists country of origin was not considered, but the artist's career had to have become identified with American art.[24] Each Annual included between 150 and 160 artists, each represented by one work. Of this number approximately one-quarter to one-half would not previously have been included.[25] Altogether, in the years up to 1954 more than 1300 artists were included in these shows.[26] In contrast to the policy governing individual retrospectives, for many years only living artists qualified for inclusion in the Annuals, although this was later amended on occasion to allow the inclusion

of works by recently deceased artists (this change in policy was occasioned by the museum's continuing loyalty to a number of older artists who had been associated with the Whitney in its various manifestations over many years).

At the Guggenheim Museum from 1940 - 1952, apart from regular selections from the Foundation collection, the main area of temporary exhibition activity was small loan exhibitions featuring recent production by contemporary non-objective painters (mostly Americans), whose work complemented the permanent display. As a rule groups of 3 to 15 artists were shown together, although there were occasional solo shows.^[27] Most of those shown (including Ilya Bolotowsky, Penrod Centurion, Gerome Kamrowski, Mary Ryan, Rolph Scarlett and Jean Xceron) had received scholarships from the Guggenheim Foundation. Only rarely in these years were there any substantial commemorative exhibitions: the major exceptions were those of "In Memory of Wassily Kandinsky" (1945), "In Memoriam: Moholy-Nagy" (1947), and "Hilla Rebay" (1949).^[28] In addition The Museum of Non-Objective Painting had a regular programme whereby small groups of works from the permanent collection were sent out to regional centres without galleries.^[29] In 1953 a programme of long-term loans (a minimum of 6 months) from the permanent collection to regional art museums was initiated, to compensate for the collection's invisibility during its building programme.^[30] From 1952 onwards there were no more shows of American non-objectivists. The main body of the exhibition schedule in the nineteen fifties consisted of selections from the permanent collections (which for the first time included works from the Guggenheim Foundation collection by the so-called "precursors" of non-objectivity).^[31] Although their number was still

relatively small (some 5 per annum), temporary exhibitions in the nineteen fifties were also more varied in subject: individual artist retrospectives included "Robert Delaunay" in 1955 and "Piet Mondrian, the Earlier Years" (1957), while group shows included the 1955 "Younger American Painters: A Selection" and the 1959 "Twenty Contemporary Painters from the Philippe Dotremont Collection". [32]

With its exhibitions the Modern was regarded as setting new standards in style and content. Allied to the concern to demonstrate a construct of modernism was the desire to be experimental in exhibition layout, and during the planning of these displays outside professional design staff were sometimes employed to help provide the most striking and effective layouts. For the first time in an American museum art works were hung with the emphasis on indicating the intellectual and chronological links between different pieces, rather than on arranging them decoratively according to size or subject. These displays were accompanied by wall labels, either explaining an individual work or the interrelationships between works in the same room, "to make the people understand what they were seeing". [33] For temporary exhibitions dramatic installations were often used and the art works themselves being accompanied by additional visual material such as captions, charts and chronologies.[34]

This manner of presentation at the Modern must be compared to the rather differing styles of the Guggenheim and Whitney Museums, as exemplified by the display of their permanent collections. This was especially the case at the Museum of Non-Objective Painting, where it was initially planned that the permanent collection would constitute the only art displayed in the museum. Although this

restriction was somewhat relaxed, much of this collection (albeit only the non-objective painting) - and more particularly works by Herbert Bauer and Wassily Kandinsky - always predominated in the museum galleries (2 floors of the original three-storey building on East Fifty Fourth Street were reserved for this purpose). The works themselves were presented in luxuriously-appointed galleries with soft grey wall hangings and deep pile carpets, with the paintings hung low on the walls in heavy gilt or silvered frames. In this display, which was entirely restricted to the 'non-objective' works belonging to the Foundation, [35] there was no attempt at chronology or at pointing to links between different works. Instead Rebay favoured hanging works so that they might be viewed in isolation as far as possible.[36] When wall captions accompanied paintings these did not directly refer to works (as might be the case at the Museum of Modern Art) but purported to instruct the viewer on how best to appreciate non-objectivity - for instance, the viewer might be asked to

"feel the rhythm that binds the entire creation into a unit of endless vibration for aesthetic enjoyment." [37]

To complete the ambience thought necessary for the proper viewing of non-objectivity the music of Bach and Scarlatti was piped into the galleries. When Sweeney took over the Directorship, the style of presentation was changed so that a small careful selection of approximately 150 major works representing the full scope of the museum's collection were presented in galleries which, although still preserving an atmosphere of luxury, had been stripped of all decorative features such as heavy frames.[38] However, Sweeney did continue some elements of Rebay's manner of presentation: in particular, the wide spacing of works so that they could be studied in effective isolation, and the down-playing of historical chronology.

The style of presentation favoured by the Whitney at its premises on Eighth Street was similarly domestic, for the galleries created out of the converted townhouses were decorated by Mrs Force with tasteful colour schemes, drapes and wallpaper to create a sequence of different galleries and a central sculpture court. The emphasis upon this decorative effect, in particular the use of different colour schemes, meant that the stress was upon the creation of an harmonious effect by a careful hanging of works. [39] When it moved to new premises next-door to the Modern, the permanent collections were presented in galleries of a flexible modern design more reminiscent of the Modern, although these were still thought to retain some of the "warmth and intimacy of character that endeared it to art lovers" by a use of movable partitions to create small galleries. [40] Owing to the restricted space available and the museum's exhibition commitments only a small portion of the very large collection was on view at any one time. However, what was shown was displayed in a chronological sequence as much as possible, and was selected to demonstrate what the Whitney considered to be the major developments.

The statement of intent by the Modern as to the role of its permanent collections - which were intended to be

"for the public the authoritative indication of what the Museum stands for in each of its departments. ... a permanent visible demonstration of the Museum's essential program, its scope, its canons of judgement, taste and value, ..." [41]

- would suggest that they should have played a similarly prominent role as at the Whitney and Guggenheim. However, this was not really the case, although from the early nineteen forties onwards galleries were reserved for this purpose. The first gallery, showing the

museum's collection of modern primitives was opened in 1941, [42] and other rooms were gradually reserved for this purpose over the years (in 1953 five new galleries were freed by the building of a new annexe).[43] The pressures of the temporary exhibition schedule meant that major presentations of the Modern's collections were restricted to periodic selections of works (the first such show was 1933 when total holdings were only 12 works). Although a selection was shown in 1937, the "first general exhibition" of some 300 paintings and 75 sculptures by 115 artists was held in 1945, [44] when the work shown was grouped under stylistic headings. In the sequence, two rooms of "modern primitives" preceded a gallery of "European Masters" (Cézanne to Van Gogh) and two of the School of Paris (André Derain to Henri Matisse), followed by "American Painting - the International Tradition" (Walt Kuhn, John Marin) and 3 galleries devoted to Cubism and derivatives (from Pablo Picasso's "Demoiselles d'Avignon" (1908) through Stuart Davis' 1930 "Egg Beater" to Piet Mondrian). The third floor had rooms devoted to "Realism and Romanticism" (Eugene Berman to Edward Hopper), 'protest' painting (William Gropper, Diego Rivera), "Pioneers of Fantastic Art" (Marc Chagall, Paul Klee), "Fantasy" (Max Ernst, Yves Tanguy) and finally "Allegory" (Max Beckmann, Peter Blume).[45] The next major selection from the Modern's collections was of its American holdings in 1948. In this 159 paintings (about half of its holdings) were also arranged according to category rather than chronology: the gallery sequence started with the "cubist tradition" (Lyonel Feininger to Karl Knaths), followed by "conservative classic" (Kuhn, Maurice Prendergast), "American scene" (Charles Burchfield, Hopper), "sharp-focus realism" (Ivan Albright, Andrew Wyeth), "comment" (Blume, Jack Levine), "romantic" (Darrel Austin, Loren MacIver), "poetic form and symbol" (Arthur Dove, Jackson

Pollock), "geometric precision" (Balcombe Greene, Irene Rice Pereira) and, finally, "primitives" (John Kane).[46] The consensus about the last exhibition appears to have been that a conservative tenor prevailed, for the majority of significant works pre-dated 1939 and/or were representational, and that although the Modern had proved itself in the field of European art neither in exhibitions nor acquisitions had it done so with respect to American art. Selections from the collections were shown in 1954 to coincide with the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations, and in 1959 a "special" installation marked the thirtieth anniversary.

The exhibition schedule of these institutions was supplemented by publishing activities. Once again the extent of these varied, once again the strength of commitment of these institutions can be measured by the scope of their efforts in this respect. The most constant in publishing activity of the 3 museums concerned was the Modern, which by the middle nineteen fifties was producing about 8 books annually.[47] A major part of its publishing activity was the catalogues which it produced to accompany special exhibitions: catalogues which the Modern's staff saw as a means of disseminating information about modern art to a broad public, [48] and which were, for this reason, written "expressly for simple, democratically minded people".[49] These catalogues were not only well-illustrated and annotated with scholarly introductory essays dealing clearly with the career of artist-in-question or the theme of the exhibition concerned, they also reflected the display and theme of the exhibitions in their layout. The catalogues, to reinforce the impression of modernity, often used striking typographic patterns borrowed from European constructivist art in conjunction with the most functional and

'modern-looking' typefaces to produce striking results. It was museum policy to attempt to accompany every major exhibition with a book quality catalogue, both as a record of the scholarship involved and to provide a future reference source.[50]

Alongside these catalogues the Modern produced a variety of other publications. Some of these grew out of catalogues, for instance, Alfred Barr's "Picasso - 50 Years of his Art" was developed from the catalogue for the 1939 exhibition "Picasso - 40 Years of his Art"; others were conceived as separate studies within the Museum's remit to disseminate knowledge about modern art and range from Barr's "Matisse - His Art and His Public" (1951) to subject histories by members of the museum's staff such as Beaumont Newhall's "The History of Photography"(1949) and "Sculpture of the Twentieth Century" (1952) by Andrew Ritchie. The glossy illustrated "Masters of Modern Art" (1954) commemorated the Modern's own collection on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary. One of the most popular Museum publications for many years was Alfred Barr's "What is Modern Painting?" (1943), seen by many as being of seminal importance as a basic primer on modern art - its popularity can be judged from the fact that it was (re)printed 8 times between 1943 and 1963 (150,000 copies in total). The Museum also commissioned outside authors to write definitive histories - of which perhaps one of the best known is John Rewald's "History of Impressionism"(1946).

In 1951 the Modern's catalogues were described as "the best in the world"; [51] while Russell Lynes, in Good Old Modern quotes an unnamed university art director as saying that Barr deserved credit for effecting a "revolution ... in making the catalogue of an

exhibition a basic part of the exhibition itself and a permanent record for posterity " [52] Some catalogues, such as "Bauhaus 1919 - 1928", or those concerned with contemporary American painters, assumed particular importance in the absence of alternative publications; [53] others, particularly those produced to accompany individual (European) artist retrospectives, provided a useful addition to the literature available on the subject. However, the greatest importance of these catalogues was that, in providing texts aimed primarily at the layperson, they reached a far larger audience than one might have expected for literature on such ostensibly specialist subjects. The success of all museum publications in reaching the public can be judged from the sales figures. In 1939 sales of these (by this time covering some 50 titles) totalled 75,000 since the inception of the service (excluding the 25,000 given free to members). Of these 6,000 had been sold the year before. [54] By 1945 these sales had increased to 50,000 books (including catalogues) per annum, an increase in the 3 years 1942 - 1945 of 300 per cent. [55] By 1951 the Modern had produced 165 books, of which 675,000 copies had been sold (exclusive of the 350,000 distributed to members), and by the time of the twenty-fifth anniversary 204 titles had been published - making it perhaps the largest producer of art books in the world. [56] In 1954 - 1955 receipts from publications amounted to \$160,000. [57]

Although the initial announcement of the Whitney Museum in 1930 announced that the museum would produce a variety of publications on individual artists and "subjects pertinent to art in general and to American art in particular" [58] the museum's actual publishing activities were rather sporadic. Originally 17 books (written by independent critics such as Royal Cortissoz, Guy Pene du Bois and

Forbes Watson) in this "American Artists Series" were intended to coincide with the Whitney's opening, an additional 13 were planned to appear the following year. The standardised format included a short critical essay, a short biography and bibliography and 20 plates; the tone was that of a "friendly aim to boost rather than criticism".^[59] However, the series was discontinued after those 17 titles published in 1931, and the 4 in 1932. Of the 21 published 6 books dealt with non-living artists and 5 with artists who had died within the preceding decade, ^[60] while 12 (including those on Alexander Brook, Arthur B. Davies, Edward Hopper, Maurice Prendergast and Eugene Speicher) ^[61] were the first published on that artist. A booklet written by poet-critic Virgil Barker, entitled "A Critical Introduction to American Painting", was also produced in 1931. Subsequently, the Whitney only published the occasional monograph - the first on Thomas Eakins (1933), the second on Winslow Homer (1944) - both written by Lloyd Goodrich, who had a research post at the Whitney. The Whitney did not accompany its exhibitions with book-quality catalogues until the latter nineteen forties: ^[62] the first accompanied the Yasuo Kuniyoshi retrospective of 1948.^[63] However, in the mid-fifties the Whitney obviously placed more stress upon publishing as a legitimate activity, and sought a grant that would enable it to publish a wider selection of works on American art; and in 1959 the Friends of the Whitney organisation recommended an annual publishing grant of \$5,000 to be used to finance catalogues.^[64] As the introduction of substantial catalogues or monographs came so late in the Whitney Museum's career these were inevitably judged in comparison to the standards set by the Museum of Modern Art - for instance, although the Kuniyoshi monograph was well received by the press it was considered to be rather more conservative and less

consciously styled in layout than the Museum of Modern Art's publications.[65]

Publishing activity by the Museum of Non-Objective Painting or Guggenheim Foundation was very sparse before 1952. Large format glossy catalogues - which included numerous illustrations, an essay by Rebay on non-objective art and checklists of works - were produced to accompany most of the initial exhibitions of the Guggenheim Collection between 1936 - 1939. However, in the following decade the only substantive catalogues produced [66] were those which accompanied the 1945 Kandinsky and 1947 Moholy-Nagy Memorial exhibitions and the 1949 Hilla Rebay solo show,[67] which (in the case of the former two) included biographies of the artists and writings by them concerning their work and the concept of "non-objectivity". However, critical reception of Rebay's writings on non-objectivity was not generally favourable, for her prose was somewhat impenetrable and prolix, particularly in the catalogue essays: it was even considered to be "deliberately mystifying" by critic Alfred Frankfurter.[68] In the nineteen forties the only non exhibition-linked publications produced by the Guggenheim Foundation were translations of Kandinsky's "Concerning the Spiritual in Art" in 1946, and his "Point and Line to Plane" in 1947.[69] Under the directorship of Sweeney small booklet-format catalogues, which generally included a foreword by Sweeney himself and short essays by outside critics, were produced to accompany the major loan exhibitions.[70]

The Modern ran a permanent Education Department under Victor d'Amico from 1937 onwards (funded initially by the Junior Advisory Committee and subsequently by the General Education Board of New

York), which concentrated upon encouraging art appreciation among the young (and their teachers) as a way of stimulating a wider audience for modern art in generations to come.[71] During the nineteen fifties the Junior Council inaugurated a separate programme of lectures for members, initially entitled "The Related Arts of Today", and subsequently organised symposia and a variety of film and media projects.[72]

Activities on the educational front were, however, rather more sporadic in the case of the other two institutions. Initially the Whitney Museum intended to supplement its exhibition programme with a series of lectures "on every phase of art".[73] In all 18 lectures by a range of historians and critics were scheduled between 1932 - 1935.[74] In addition, occasional symposia on topics relating to modern art were hosted.[75] After 1935, however, such activities were discontinued as it was felt that the Museum had insufficient funds to cover the costs.[76] For the same reason the Whitney Museum did not have a permanent education department, though it did have a part-time docent in later years to give gallery talks.[77] Under Rebay's directorship the Museum of Non-Objective Painting did not have a formal educational programme, although Rebay herself gave talks in connection with non-objective art, either informally in the museum [78] or at outside venues (particularly if a loan exhibition from the museum was showing locally).[79] In 1953, regular bi-monthly gallery talks (during the winter art season) were instituted which dealt with either works from temporary exhibitions or those from the permanent collection.[80] The Guggenheim Foundation's other major attempts to encourage non-objectivity were artist-oriented. During Rebay's tenure a small number of annual scholarships which were awarded to American non-

objectivists [81] or small grants given for artist's materials.[82] In 1956 the Foundation instituted a bi-ennial juried International Award.[83]

Of considerable importance to this study is the extent to which these institutions managed to encourage the patronage of modern art in the United States. Again, the emphases which these different institutions placed upon this function differed considerably and, again, it was the Modern which was most active. One tactic which this institution employed to stimulate a taste for modern art (most notably among the moneyed elite) was by appealing to snobbery - in particular making reference to the social standing of those already involved in the museum. The involvement of "social register" families such as the Rockefellers and the Whitneys was especially important in this respect. Where before members of this elite had generally turned their backs on modern art,

"the provocative spectacle of the thickest pillars of conservative society upholding a distinctly radical artistic cabal, and upholding it not merely with cash but with vigorous personal effort" [84]

helped to make involvement with the Modern a socially desirable activity. Attempts were also made to break down the common American (male) prejudice against art and culture as a non-productive 'female' preserve [85] by stressing art and its accumulation as a financially respectable activity. This was done in the first instance by a stress on the business credentials of those men already involved, either with the museum itself or in the activity of collecting modern art. Later the improving market values of the art espoused were emphasised by publicising details of prices and current values of work belonging to the Museum collections (both in press releases and in the Museum's own published reports and Bulletins).[86]

Furthermore, the Modern staged various exhibitions intended to encourage private collecting of modern art by indicating the identities of persons already involved in the activity. One strand of such displays was exhibitions of works given or promised to the museum. Some of these were self-contained shows of work from one person's collection as bequeathed to the museum. Those belonging to persons previously known as trustees included: the 1931 and 1934 showings of the Lillie Bliss collection, the 1936 and 1949 shows of works donated by Mrs John D. Rockefeller Jr, the Sam Lewisohn Bequest in 1952, and that of Philip Goodwin in 1958. Gifts from those with no previous regular involvement included the Alfred Steiglitz Collection in 1947 and the Katherine Dreier Bequest in 1953.^[87] The occasional large mixed show was also staged as publicity tool for the museum: for example, the 1958 exhibition of "Works of Art: Given or Promised" was held soon after fire had damaged the museum building and a number of works in it.^[88] The Modern, from 1935 onwards,^[89] also occasionally displayed a number of well-known private modern art collections (generally of persons associated with the museum as trustees or officers). A few, such as that Edward G. Robinson in 1953, were devoted to a single collector, but 4 shows (1946, 1948, 1951, 1955) were anthologies of works from several different collections.^[90] Such displays tended to concentrate upon older, better-known collectors, but the Junior Council staged the occasional show focused exclusively upon young collectors, in an attempt to further encourage this area. The first of these, in 1954, was mixed, but shows of single collectors such as Walter Bareiss (1958) were staged later.^[91]

As part of its efforts to encourage the consumption of modern

art, the Modern also tried to stimulate sales through its own exhibitions. A number of Christmas shows of low-priced art work were held (in much the same vein as the "Good Design" Shows) in the hope of encouraging the purchase of work by demonstrating to the public that modern art was available at reasonable prices. From the mid-forties onwards signs were posted in exhibitions to the effect that certain works on show were for sale, with the price list available at the main desk. Members enjoyed an increased benefit from this service as members' previews were held of all major exhibitions. In addition, regular "New Talent" shows were held in the Members' Penthouse in the nineteen fifties, where works were on sale to members with the specific aim of encouraging purchases of work by younger, less well-known artists.^[92] As part of the same strategy, in 1950 the Museum's Junior Council proposed the setting up of an 'Art Lending Library', in the hope that

"By sending good originals into the home and giving our clients the chance to test their quality by daily experience, we hope to demonstrate that contemporary art belongs to everyday life as well as on the museum wall ... We may secondly do much to enlarge public taste; borrowersmay be tempted to fresh experience. And since our clients will include people who have never owned works of art, as well as collectors, we expect to foster an expanded market for original works." ^[93]

The works available from this service were of living Americans already represented in the Museum collections, thus reassuring the timid as to their quality. The selected works, borrowed for the purpose from a number of New York galleries, ^[94] ranged in price from \$25 - \$750. Members could rent works for 2 - 3 months, with the charge calculated according to the work's value up to a maximum of \$50. Special rates were introduced to encourage borrowing by businesses.^[95] If the borrower decided to buy the work then the rental charge was deducted from the purchase price, and the museum asked the galleries concerned to pay them a 10 per cent 'handling

charge' (in truth commission) on any sales.[96] Although initially there was some resistance to the more expensive works (the average rental in the first years was between \$5 and \$22, that is, the small and medium-priced works), the success of this service can be judged from the fact that by 1960 the Service had made 4231 rentals to 1762 borrowers (all Museum members), and had sold 926 works for a total of \$165,085. Moreover, by this date the ratio of sales to rentals had increased from 1 to 8 in the first years to 1 to 3.5 by the late nineteen fifties. [97]

It was only in the nineteen fifties that the Whitney staged any exhibitions which might be construed as encouraging collecting. The cause of this apparent reserve about encouraging collectors of contemporary American art probably lay in the Museum's belief that it could best serve contemporary American artists by building up its own collections using the resources provided by its founder. Only after gifts were first allowed in 1948 did the Whitney began to present private collections. The first to be shown was that of Edith and Milton Lowenthal in 1952, and the second that of Roy R. Neuberger in 1956 [98] (both were noted assemblages of contemporary American painting begun in the early nineteen forties whose owners had built up strong personal links with the Whitney and its staff). The formation of the Friends of the Whitney Museum in 1955, an idea prompted by the preparations for the former exhibitions but also a response to the greater openness of the Whitney towards outside sources of aid, was considered in part to be a means of encouraging the collecting of contemporary American art.[99] As part of this strategy the Friends from 1958 onwards sponsored a series of exhibitions relating specifically to the private collecting of contemporary American art - the first show consisted of a selection

of American twentieth century works belonging to Friends.[100]
The Guggenheim Museum, however, although allowing gifts after 1953, did not attempt to foster collecting by any means such as exhibitions of outside private collections until 1959, when both the Philippe Dotremont collection and a selection of gifts were presented.[101]

Neither the Whitney Museum nor the Guggenheim Museum did much directly to encourage sales of the art they presented. Instead, they appear largely to have been content to be, as the Whitney Museum stated in its announcement of intent in 1930,

"a depot where the public may see fine examples of
production - ... " [102]

The Whitney did make some efforts to foster the sale of American contemporary art via its Annuals, but even here it was stressed that the museum was "not going into the auction business" and this encouragement did not take the form of any direct intervention. Instead the Museum did indeed act as a depot: no more was done than to put works on display and to include full particulars of each artist's address in the accompanying catalogue of each show, so as to enable an interested spectator to contact the artist concerned directly. The museum distanced itself by not taking any commission from sales made in this way. [103] At the Museum of Non-Objective Painting the loan exhibitions of contemporary American non-objectivists were held, Rebay asserted,

"... to get the American public in contact with the painter direct - to encourage him to start small collections of paintings at the time of their production."
[104]

However, as at the Whitney, there was no direct involvement in the selling process nor was any commission charged on sales effected.

Its efforts to stimulate the potential market for modern art were so successful, and the prestige which the museum built up was so great, that by the mid-forties the Modern was being mentioned by dealers as the single most important influence on the modern art market.^[105] By the late nineteen fifties the Modern's reputed market influence was such that it had become, as curator Andrew Ritchie put it

"...the Bourse. Everything we did the dealers knew about before we did it, and prices were affected accordingly."
^[106]

It is difficult to quantify just how much influence the Whitney Annuals had upon the New York art market. The Whitney itself claimed in 1954 that the volume of sales from these shows rose steadily,^[107] but John I.H. Baur has admitted that this volume was probably never high enough to stimulate the market directly.^[108] The potential for influence of these Annuals was probably diminished by the composition of the shows themselves, made up as they were of a heterogeneous mass of contemporaneous production. Moreover, the New York media does not remark upon the Whitney as being influential in market terms, unlike the Museum of Modern Art; nor are the Whitney shows (and in particular the Annuals) mentioned as an important introduction to American art or as a stimulus to their collecting by any major collectors of contemporary American art.^[109] It is almost certain that the commercial impact of the Guggenheim Museum was negligible.

As a result of the above activities, over the years covered by this survey the Museum of Modern Art gained the reputation of being the most important tastemaking institution in the United States: both within the context of raising the general level of interest in modern art, and as a stimulant of the market for modern art. Indeed,

the relative success of the Modern's more general tastemaking efforts can be judged from a comparison of some of the statistics. For instance, attendance at exhibitions in 1929 - 1930 was 186,000 and raised \$450 in admission fees; in the 1953 - 1954 season numbers had risen to 500,000, raising some \$177,000.^[110] Membership also grew from 405 in 1929 - 1930 to 21,474 in 1954.^[111] With these increases in measurable public interest there was a decline in the relative importance of the wealthy elite as a source of financial support for the museum. In its early years the Modern, both for running expenses and for an endowment, depended heavily on the support of a small group of no more than some 120 persons interested in modern art.^[112] In 1934 - 1935 (the first year after an endowment had been raised) donations of \$42,125 amounted to nearly 50 per cent of income, and were more than thrice the amount raised from membership dues and over 4 times in excess of that derived from admissions and sales.^[113] Nearly twenty years later, however, in the Museum's twenty-fifth anniversary year, contributions from trustees and friends of \$377,828 were approximately one-quarter of total income, while the total raised by membership dues now amounted to 16 per cent of the total, and the combined total of sales and admissions amounted to 31 per cent of income (\$549,424).^[114] In contrast, the quieter tone of Whitney exhibitions resulted in attendance figures which averaged 75,000 per annum until 1953 ^[115] when, however, they trebled owing to the greater convenience of its just-opened 'uptown' location and its new proximity to the Modern.

Despite this general level of success, however, problems were created for the Modern by its emphasis upon temporary exhibitions and the relative invisibility of the permanent collections meant to

provide the yard-stick by which the public could measure the Modern's judgements as to the historical significance of the various manifestations of modern art. The most bitter attack on the Modern came in 1944, when critic Emily Genauer accused the Modern of concentrating on "Sure Things" and "Shockers", instead of

"...be[ing] a force steadily and surely working to foster and encourage the ablest living artists, and to bring them the backing of the general public.....It has made a show of discharging its responsibilities to the living by concentrating most of its attention on a handful of teachers pets." [116]

This attack came from a critic worried by what she saw as the Modern's apparent neglect of contemporary American art in favour of early twentieth century Europeans, and was written before the Modern had displayed its American holdings for the first time. Attacks in a similar vein were still coming, however, in the next decade - when some felt that the Modern had sacrificed seriousness of purpose for publicity, and was showing an unfortunate subservience to the tastes of the rich who subsidised the museum.[117] Even by the mid-fifties the museum was still drawing criticism from critics concerned about new American art, such as Thomas Hess:

"With the few exceptions noted by Mr Barr, the Museum's exhibitions have ignored what is, to many, the most significant modern art being created today...." [118]

The root cause of these criticisms lay in the very structure of the Modern's tastemaking strategy - the predominance of the temporary exhibition. With respect to the permanent collections, these were effectively devalued as a tastemaking tool by their invisibility. Before 1940 they were often completely eclipsed by the need for space to show temporary exhibitions. Even when galleries were set aside only an ever-decreasing proportion of the collection could be seen at any one time: in 1946 there was space sufficient to show only 15 per cent of the painting collection,

[119] in 1953 (when extra new galleries were provided for the permanent collections by the building of a new annexe) 160 paintings and sculptures, that is, 20 per cent of such holdings were displayed, [120] and in 1959 the Museum had only 150 paintings on show out of a collection of 1200.[121] This meant that the public's impression of the permanent collections depended primarily upon what work was included in the occasional special displays, or the somewhat arbitrary character of presentations of new accessions. In the temporary exhibition schedule artists and styles of the early twentieth century predominated, particularly in the major survey exhibitions which received the most media attention and attracted the public to the museum. Although there were surveys of new talent (such as those organised in 1942, 1946, 1952, 1955 and 1959) [122] these were not regular enough to combat the impression of an emphasis upon early twentieth century modernism. In addition, where the presentation of European art was formulated quite coherently within a modernist art-historical framework the choice of American art could be somewhat erratic, with exhibitions ranging from nineteenth century battle painting to contemporary primitives to the work of the younger American abstractionists. There were relatively fewer individual retrospectives given to American artists, with the result that no clear public perception of either the historical relevance or quality of the artists shown was built up. The Modern always stoutly denied charges of favouring European art at the expense of American, [123] but the public perception persisted for many years that this was indeed the case.

Criticism of the tastemaking impact of Guggenheim and Whitney Museums centred, as befits institutions primarily constituted as "private collections in the public service" upon the presentation

of these collections and the impact thus created. At the Museum of Non-Objective Painting criticism was levelled from the start at every aspect of the presentation. There was recurrent comment on the distracting nature of the piped music, the awkwardness for the spectator of hanging the paintings so near to the floor, and the overpowering nature of the heavy framing.^[124] The most serious censure was, however, reserved for the composition of the permanent display and, by extension, the whole idea of devoting a museum to non-objectivity to the exclusion of all else. The "terrific sameness" ^[125] created by the preponderance of works by Herbert Bauer (and the difficulty of locating works by other artists) was likened by one commentator, the artist Burgoyne Diller, to an "impression of forced feeding".^[126] Such adverse comment continued into the next decade, and in 1952 critic Aline Louchheim opined that the scale of representation of Bauer and of Rebay herself meant that the Guggenheim displayed a lack of the critical objectivity ideally associated with an ostensibly public institution.^[127] In all, a "faddist stigma" was attached to the whole enterprise, ^[128] and it was not taken seriously. Indeed, only with the appointment of Sweeney as director in 1952, and his move away from earlier policies more toward a more conventional museum practice, was any credence given to this institution.

At the time of the Whitney Museum's opening there was both great praise for the idea, and reservations about the composition of its collection, which it was thought betrayed the museum's private genesis in the number of omissions of artists and the variable quality of works included therein.^[129] With respect to the consequences of a reliance on the Annuals as a major source of accessions, adverse comment was occasioned by doubts as to how the

Whitney could fulfil a proper critical function if it relied too heavily upon these shows for accessions, yet did not itself pre-select the works included therein. Another effect which this reliance had upon the tastemaking potential of the collections was that catholicity overwhelmed the critical selection imperative if the museum was to have any kind of effective tastemaking role. Indeed Lloyd Goodrich has admitted that such criticism was in the main justified, for in its rationale - which was to follow the artist over-and-above giving a lead to the public [130] - and in its efforts to include a wide range of contemporary artistic options the Whitney, as he himself said, failed "sufficiently to recognize what may be 'right' ".[131] Moreover, although the essentially domestic nature of the presentation had attracted some praise from early critics, by 1959 critic John Canaday criticised the Whitney, and its method of "presentation without dramatization" as "hard work" and "depressing" in contrast to the Modern next door.[132]

In summation, the relative importance as tastemakers of these New York institutions, both within the context of their more general tastemaking role and as stimulants to the art market, would appear to be directly connected to their relative orientation toward the consumer or public. This in turn, was intimately tied to the underlying financial structures of these institutions and to the relative importance of these institutions as direct accumulators of art works. As can be seen, orientation toward the public was generally influenced by need as much as commitment. The effective result of this situation was that the Museum of Modern Art was the undisputed prime tastemaker among the 3 institutions discussed, as

can be deduced from the opinion of the New York Times in 1954 on the occasion of the Modern's twenty-fifth anniversary.

"The Museum of Modern Art, more than any other single force, awakened the public, sometimes by discreet nudging, sometimes by jolting shocks It set implicit standards of quality. The effect of its provocative multi-target exhibitions, its display techniques and its lucid publications have been felt in the fields of advertising, merchandising and display.....But perhaps its most remarkable achievement lies in its unique spirit and atmosphere. The Museum of Modern Art makes contact with art pleasurable." [133]

NOTES

- 1 Press Release, August 1929 - History Archive, Museum of Modern Art.
- 2 James Thrall Soby: "The Collection of the Museum of Modern Art : 4 Basic Policies" - Art in America: XXXII (1944); p 235.
- 3 Statement to the press by Messrs Stanchfield and Levy (attorneys), 29/6/1937. Solomon R Guggenheim Collection (scrapbooks), Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number N/SRG 1.
- 4 "Mrs Whitney's Museum" - New York Times: 4/1/1930; p 16.
- 5 Art News: 20/3/1930; p 9.
- 6 "Tastemaking" - New York Times: 25/9/1960: II; p 13.
- 7 Whitney Museum of American Art: "Catalogue of the Collection", 1954; unpaginated.
- 8 Hilla Rebay: "Non-Objectivity is the Realm of the Spirit" - "Art of Tomorrow: First Public Exhibition in New York City of the Solomon R Guggenheim Collection", exhibition publicity and invitation - Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, Exhibition Archive.
- 9 Aline B. Saarinen: "Lively Gallery for Modern Art" - New York Times: 30/5/54: IX; pp 16, 26.
- 10 In 1935 this income of \$20,511 contributed only 11 per cent of the total running costs of \$140,429. and 15 per cent of all income. A. Conger Goodyear: The Museum of Modern Art - The First Ten Years; Appendix G "Statement of Income and Expenditures", unpaginated.
In the Museum's twenty-fifth anniversary year, though the value of the endowment had risen to \$1,600,000 (most of it raised on the occasion of the construction of the Fifty-Third Street building), this proportion had fallen to only about 5 per cent of both total income and expenditures (the latter being \$1,772,267, as compared with operating expenses in 1930 of \$101,409) - Museum of Modern Art: "Twenty Fifth Anniversary - Final Report" - Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XXII (1953): 1 - 2; p 20.
- 11 Alfred Barr divided this possible public up into several different, though in some cases overlapping, groups:
 - 1) The "Four Hundred" - professionals, critics, dealers, scholars and collectors, upon whose favourable judgement the Museum depended for its public prestige;
 - 2) The "Social Group" - including the majority of Museum members and Friends;
 - 3) an "Action Group" - business people intrigued by the modernity of the Museum's image, to be convinced that good art was good business.
 Betty Chamberlain: "History of the Museum of Modern Art"; p 150 - unpublished typescript, History Archive, Museum of Modern Art.
- 12 Initially there were 3 kinds of membership: Annual Members who paid \$10 p.a.; Sustaining Members who gave \$25 p.a. and Contributing Members who paid \$100 p.a.. In return Members were given free admission to all exhibitions, received all (this practice was discontinued in 1940) or some of the Museum's publications each year, and were entitled to use the Member's dining facilities.
One must compare this to the Whitney, which instituted a deliberately exclusive Friends Organisation to help it augment its collection, but not its running expenses.
- 13 Checklist of Museum Exhibitions, Library, Museum of Modern Art. Russell Lynes: Good Old Modern; pp 446 - 462.

- 14 "Art for the Nation" - Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: VII (1940): 5; pp 2 - 14. "Circulating Exhibitions, 1931 - 1954" - Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XXI (1954): 1 - 2; pp 3 - 32.
- 15 For a full list of exhibitions given see: Checklist of Exhibitions, Library, Museum of Modern Art; and Lynes: op cit; pp 447 - 467.
- 16 Aline B. Louchheim: "The Favoured Few" - Art News: XLV: 7; pp 15 - 17, 51, 52. Thomas B. Hess: "The Modern Museum's fifteen: Where U.S. Extremes Meet" - Art News: LI (1952 - 53): 2; pp 17 - 19, 65, 66. Robert Rosenblum: "The New Decade" - Art Digest: 15/5/1955; pp 20 - 23.
- 17 Lloyd Goodrich: Harlan Phillips, interview, 5/2/1963, Archives of American Art (28/6/1962 - 25/3/1963).
- 18 Daty Healy: "A History of the Whitney Museum of American Art 1930 - 1954", New York University, unpublished PhD, 1960; pp 154 - 160.
For catalogues see: Whitney Museum of American Art Records, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number Nwh-5 to Nwh-7, and N604 to N607.
- 19 Rosamund Frost: "The Whitney Stirs the Melting Pot" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 3; pp 22, 23. Healy: op cit; p 162.
- 20 Introduction, catalogue of the "First Biennial Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting", 1932 - quoted in Healy: op cit; p 120.
- 21 The period 1942 - 1946 was when the idea of an amalgamation between the Whitney and the Metropolitan Museum was being actively considered by the Whitney trustees, and the exhibition programme of the Whitney was severely curtailed.
- 22 Whitney Museum: "Catalogue of the Collection", 1954; unpaginated.
- 23 Initially artists were allowed to submit a number of canvasses to the Museum during the year for appraisal by the staff. Subsequently, several 'viewings' were held each year, to which artists could send a maximum of 4 works for examination by the museum staff. Invitations to participate in the forthcoming Annual were made after this procedure or, alternatively, an artist might be asked to resubmit again for future consideration - Alene Talmey: "Whitney Museum of American Art" - Vogue: 1/1/1940; p 132 & Healy: op cit; pp 140 - 142.
- 24 The staff always reserved the right to select sculpture because of limited space and the domestic scale of the Museum buildings - Healy: *ibid*.
- 25 Whitney Museum, 1954: op cit.
- 26 *Ibid*.
- 27 The first show was of Irene Rice Pereira, Balcomb Greene and Gertrude Greene - "The Elite of the Nation" - Art Digest: 1/2/1940; p 26.
For a complete list of these exhibitions see "Chronological List of Exhibitions Organized by the Guggenheim Museum" - in "Catalogue of the Guggenheim Museum Collection 1880 - 1945", Vol II; pp 700 - 708.
- 28 For correspondence relating to preparations for the Kandinsky and Moholy-Nagy exhibitions see the Exhibition Archive, Solomon R Guggenheim Museum.
- 29 Joan M. Lukach: Hilla Rebay - In Search of the Spirit in Art; pp 146 - 147, 252 - 254.
- 30 "Non Non-Objective" - Art Digest: 15/2/1953; p 15.
- 31 For a definition of this one must refer to Hilla Rebay's essays on the nature of Non-Objectivity - in which she distinguishes

- the art espoused by the Museum of Non-Objective Painting under her direction from stylistic manifestations such as Academism, Impressionism, Expressionism, Cubism, and Abstraction.
- 32 For a complete list see "Chronological List of Exhibitions Organized by the Guggenheim Museum": op cit.
The Whitney itself did not do all the preparation for the exhibitions staged at the museum, but instead provided a staging post for shows originating in other institutions e.g. the 1945 "Artists of the Hudson River School" (organised by the Art Institute of Chicago) and the 1958 Arthur Dove retrospective (organised by the California Palace of the Legion of Honour); and in the late nineteen fifties the Hofmann and Bradley Walker Tomlin retrospectives were produced in conjunction with the University of California (Los Angeles) Art Gallery.
 - 33 Margaret Scolari Barr: Paul Cummings, interview, 8/4/1974. Archives of American Art.
 - 34 Agnes Ringe: "The Educational Activities of the Museum of Modern Art" - College Art Journal: III (1943 - 44): 4; pp 132 - 137.
 - 35 All so-called 'precursors' or 'abstract' works were either kept in Guggenheim's private apartments or in storage.
 - 36 Charleston Evening Post: 9/3/1936 - Scrapbook, Hilla Rebay Foundation Archive, Solomon R Guggenheim Museum.
 - 37 Times Union, Albany New York: 17/2/1946 - clipping, Hilla Rebay Foundation Archive, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
 - 38 Aline B. Saarinen: "Lively Gallery for Living Art" - New York Times: 30/5/1954: IX: pp 16, 26.
 - 39 "Whitney Museum Opens, Setting a New Milestone in American Art" - Art Digest: 1/12/1931; 9.
"Whitney Museum" - Parnassus: IV: 7; p 1.
 - 40 Jonathan Marshall: "The Whitney's New Home" - Arts Digest: 1/11/1954; p 9. Sanka Knox: "Whitney Museum Reopening Today" - New York Times: 26/10/1954; p 29. Howard Devree: "About Art and Artists - Whitney Museum Retains Intimacy and Warmth and Enhances Displays" - New York Times: 26/10/1954; p 24.
 - 41 "The Museum Collections - A Brief Report", 1944 - quoted in: Alfred H. Barr: "Chronicle of the Collection 1929 - 1967"; p 630.
 - 42 A revolving selection of the collection was on display from May 1940 - Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: VIII: February - March 1941; p 12.
 - 43 "More on View at the Modern" - Art Digest: 15/1/1953; p 13.
 - 44 "The Modern Displays Permanent Collection - Surprises Its Critics" - Art Digest: 1/7/1945; p 5, 29.
 - 45 Alfred M. Frankfurter: "The Model of a Major Modern Collection" - Art News: XLIV: 9; pp 18, 34, 35. "The Modern Displays Permanent Collection - Surprises its Critics" - Art Digest: 1/7/1945; pp 5, 27.
 - 46 Alfred M. Frankfurter: "Boston Adventure and the New York Look" - Art News: XLVII (1948 - 49): 9; pp 32 - 34, 54, 59, 60. Howard Devree: "Today's Americans" - New York Times: 26/12/1948: II; p 11.
 - 47 "Modern Museum Paying its Way" - New York Times: 9/1/1955; p 62.
 - 48 Andrew C. Ritchie, quoted in : Lynes: op cit; p 218.
 - 49 MacDonald: op cit; p 58.
 - 50 Monroe Wheeler: "The Museum as Publisher" - Art in America: XXXIV (1946); pp 213 - 219.
 - 51 Nelson Lansdale: "New York's Museum of Modern Art: A 'Citadel of Civilization'" - Art Digest: 1/11/1951; p 37.
 - 52 Lynes: op cit; p 355.
 - 53 "Modern's Library" - Art Digest: 13: 1/8/1939; p 23.

- Several works sold more than several thousand copies in a few years after publication: the "Van Gogh" exhibition catalogue (9,000 copies), "Cézanne" (6,000 copies), Newhall's "History of Photography" sold 3000 copies in 8 months. Others with high sales were the catalogues for "Cubism and Abstract Art", "Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism", "Machine Art" (2000 copies), and "Modern Architecture" (3000 copies).
- 54 Lynes: op cit; pp 105, 218.
 - 55 Lansdale: op cit.
 - 56 Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XXII (1955): 1 - 2; p 20. Idem: XXII: 3 - 4; p 18.
 - 57 For a detailing of all museum publications refer to the successive issues of the Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art.
 - 58 Whitney Museum (1954): op cit.
 - 59 Among the writers were: Guy Pene du Bois on Glackens, Hopper and Sloan; Edgar Alden Jewell on Brook; Elizabeth Luther Cary on Luks; H Appleton Read on Henri; Margaret Breunig on Prendergast and Royal Cortissoz on Davies and Du Bois.
 - 60 Art News: 20/3/1930; p 9.
 - 61 Healy: op cit; p 202.
Bullit mentions that among the only previous books produced on American art were 2 monographs on 'Pop' Hart and Weber in the 1920s published by the Downtown Gallery; and a series published in Germany which included studies on Peggy Bacon, Fiene, Nadelman, Gus Mager, Kuniyoshi and Brook.
 - 62 C J Bullit: "Literature of American Art Enriched by 17 Whitney Monographs" - Chicago Post: 15/12/1931, Whitney Museum of American Art Records, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No N593.
 - 63 For a discussion of this development see: Healy: op cit; pp 203 - 206.
For catalogues see Whitney Museum of American Art Records, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number N593 - N596, N604 - N609, and Nwh 6.
Those on Weber (1949) and Sloan (1952) were written by Goodrich; those on MacIver-Pereira (1953) and Grosz (1954) by John I H Baur, and that on Gorky (1957) by Ethel Schwabacher (this followed the 1951 exhibition).
 - 64 The first grant was used to print the catalogue of the 1961 "Business Buys American Art" exhibition organised by the Friends - Roy R. Neuberger Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 65 Architectural Forum: LXXXIX: August 1948; p 164.
 - 66 See "Chronological List of Exhibitions Organised by the Guggenheim Museum": op cit.
 - 67 "In Memory of Wassily Kandinsky", exh. cat., Museum of Non-Objective Painting, New York, March 15 - April 29 1945.
"In Memoriam Lazlo Moholy-Nagy", exh. cat., Museum of Non-Objective Painting, May 15 - July 10, 1947.
 - 68 Alfred F. Frankfurter: "Vernissage - Art News: L (1951 - 52): Summer; p 15.
 - 69 Interview with Rebay, WINS Radio, New York, 11/11/1946. Lukach: op cit; p 228 - 232.
Originally Katherine Dreier was to translate the latter, but Rebay brought in Howard Dearstyne (an ex-pupil of Kandinsky's) who made a free translation of the German original and it was this version that was published.
 - 70 See Exhibition Archive, Solomon R Guggenheim Museum.
 - 71 Lynes: op cit; pp 167 - 171.
 - 72 Lynes: *ibid*; p 381.
 - 73 Art News: 29/3/1930; p 1.

- 74 In 1932 - 33 6 lectures were delivered by, among others, Royal Cortissoz on "The Basis of American Taste", Francis H. Taylor on "The Dilemma of the Modern Artist". In 1933 - 34 of the 6 advertised Pach talked on Prendergast and Lewis Mumford on "Orozco in New England"- New York Times: 14/11/1933; p 17. In the final series D. Catton Rich talked on "The Great American Loneliness and E. A. Jewell on "Churning the Modern Psyche". Cuttings in museum scrapbooks, Whitney Museum of American Art Records, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No N593.
- 75 "Whitney Symposium" - Art Digest: 1/5/1933; pp 6, 25, 26.
- 76 It may be significant that it was at this date that control of the museum finances passed to a board of trustees, rather than solely Mrs Force and Mrs Whitney, and would seem to indicate a reluctance on their part to spend of the budget on anything other than running expenses and purchases.
- 77 Whitney Museum (1954): op cit. John I. H. Baur: Paul Cummings, interview, 12/2/1970. Archives of American Art.
- 78 "Non-Objectives by Americans" - Art Digest: 15/10/1940; p 19. New York Times: 5/1/1940; p 17; New York Times: 13/5/1942; p 22.
- 79 Evening Post, (Charleston, South Carolina), 16/3/1936. News, (Cleveland, Ohio: 15/3/1946 - Scrapbooks, Hilla Rebay Foundation Archive, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
- 80 New York Herald Tribune: 16/4/1953 - clipping, Archives, Solomon R Guggenheim Museum.
- 81 The first were awarded to Wilfred Zogbaum and Josette Coefflin in 1937. The selection of recipients was entirely under Rebay's control. Each artist received stipends of between \$50 and \$150 per month. Lukach: op cit; pp 122 - 126, 151.
See also: correspondence between Elizabeth McCausland and Hilla Rebay re Irene Rice Pereira in Elizabeth McCausland Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No D-374; correspondence between Ibram Lassaw and Hilla Rebay: in Ibram Lassaw Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No N69-129;
"Non-Objective Chief Here From Germany" - New York Herald Tribune: 5/8/1939; p 9.
- 82 Lukach: op cit; pp 151 - 153.
- 83 "Opening Ceremonies of the Solomon R Guggenheim Museum", booklet, (1959), Exhibition Archive, Solomon R Guggenheim Museum.
- 84 "The Museum of Modern Art" - Fortune: December 1938; p 127.
- 85 Packard Report: quoted in Chamberlain: op cit; p 152.
- 86 Dwight MacDonald: "Action on Fifty-Third Street II" - New Yorker: 19/12/1953; p 52.
- 87 "Memorial Exhibition: The Collection of Miss Lizzie P Bliss", exh. cat., 1931. "The Lillie P Bliss Collection", exh. cat., 1934. Guy Pene du Bois "The Lizzie P Bliss Collection" - The Arts: XVII: 9; p 601 - 612. James Johnson Sweeney: "The Bliss Collection" - Creative Arts: May 1931; pp 353 - 358.
"Dreier Bequest" - Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XX (1953): 3 - 4; p 8.
"The Philip Goodwin Collection" - Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XXVI (1958): 1; p 4 - 12.
- 88 Lynes: op cit; pp 374 - 375.
- 89 The first such display was an anonymous presentation of Sidney Janis' collection in that year.
- 90 The summer shows in particular provided a benefit for both Museum and collectors - for the museum they provided a cheap exhibition source, and for the collectors publicity and the

- promise of Museum security for their collections should they be out of the city for the summer months.
- For the work included in such displays see: "Paintings from New York Private Collections", exh. cat., Summer 1946; "New York Private Collections", exh. cat., Summer 1948; "New York Private Collections", exh. cat., Summer 1951; and "Paintings from Private Collections" (25th Anniversary Exhibition, Summer 1955), Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art, XXII (1955): 4; pp 3 - 36. "Seven American Collectors Show Treasures at Modern Museum" - Art Digest: 1/8/1946; pp 5, 30, 31. "Collector's Choice at the Modern Museum" - Art Digest: 1/8/1948; p 14. Howard Devree: "From Five Collectors" - New York Times: 1/7/1951: II; p 6. "Modern Shows Choices of Five Collectors" - Art Digest: 1/8/1951; p 17. "MOMA: Summer Exhibition Private Collections" - Art Digest: 1/8/1951; p 17. "Rockefeller, Whitney, Senior, Odets, Colin" - Art News: L (1951 - 52): 4; pp 34 - 37, 60. James Thrall Soby: "Collector's Choice" - Saturday Review of Literature: 2/7/1955; pp 34, 35.
- 91 "Young Collectors", exh. cat., 5 - 28/11/1954. "Aline B. Saarinen: 'Collectors and Their Choices'" - New York Times: 7/11/1954: II; p 10. "What the Modern Museum's young collectors buy" - Art News: LIII (1954 - 55): 7; pp 49, 74.
 - 92 Chamberlain: op cit; pp 800 - 802. "Modern Delivers Young Talent to Members" - Art Digest: 1/6/1950; p 10.
 - 93 "Proposal by the Junior Council for an Art Lending Service", 1950, History Archive, Museum of Modern Art. "Museum Setting up Art Lending Service; to Rent Works to Local Members" - New York Times: 10/5/1951; p 33.
 - 94 In all works from some 96 galleries were shown in the 1950s - "Art Lending Service: Retrospective Exhibition 1950 - 1960", exh. cat., History Archive, Museum of Modern Art.
 - 95 Letter to Alan Gallery from Museum of Modern Art, 13/5/1954, Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2182.
 - 96 Chamberlain: op cit; p 803. "Museum of Modern Art: Art Lending Service", leaflets 1951 & 1955, History Archive, Museum of Modern Art.
 - 97 "Art Lending Service: Retrospective Exhibition 1950 - 1960", exh. cat., History Archive, Museum of Modern Art. "Polonius Notwithstanding" - Art Digest: 1/5/1952; p 5. "Museum Increases Art for Rentals" - New York Times: 8/5/1952; p 29. Aline B. Saarinen: "Picture Rentals" - New York Times: 2/10/1955: II; p 15.
 - 98 "Edith and Milton Lowenthal Collection", exh. cat., Whitney Museum of American Art, 1/10 - 2/11/1952. "Neuberger Collection - Modern American Painting and Sculpture", exh. cat., Whitney Museum of American Art, 17/11 - 19/12/1954
 - 99 Baur: Cummings: op cit. See "Friends of the Whitney Museum: First Annual Report", 20/4/1956.
 - 100 Lloyd Goodrich: "The Collector and the Museum" - Art in America: XLIV (1956): 2; pp 64 - 65.
 - 101 "Guggenheim Museum Collection, 1880 - 1945": Vol II; p 708.
 - 102 "Whitney Museum Opens in Fall" - Art News: XXVIII (1939 - 40): 29/3/1930; pp 1, 9.
 - 103 New York Herald Tribune: 4/11/1932.
 - 104 Art Digest: 1/2/1940; p 9. 106 Aline B. Louchheim: "Who Buys What in the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIII (1944 - 45): 9; pp

- 12 - 14, 22, 23. Aline B. Louchheim: "Second Season of the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 10; pp 9 - 11, 26. This phenomenon was first noticed in the wake of the Museum's 1935 - 36 season, with its "Van Gogh", "Cubism and Abstract Art" and "Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism" exhibitions when for the first time commercial galleries can be described as riding on the coat-tails of the Museum in their selection of exhibitions. Lynes: op cit; pp 139 - 141.
- 105 "The Museum of Modern Art" - Fortune: December 1938; pp 73 - 75, 127, 128, 131, 134, 147.
- 106 Andrew C Ritchie, quoted in: Lynes: op cit; p 250.
- 107 Whitney Museum (1954): op cit.
- 108 Baur: Cummings, op cit.
- 109 This point was raised by the author in interviews with the collectors Roy R Neuberger (11/8/1984) and Edith and Milton Lowenthal (17/8/1984).
- 110 Dwight MacDonald: "Action on Fifty-Third Street II" - New Yorker: 19/12/1953; p 39. Museum of Modern Art: "Twenty-Fifth Anniversary: Final Report", (1954); p 4. "Modern Museum Paying its Way" - New York Times: 9/1/1955; p 62.
- 111 Goodyear: op cit; p 103. Museum of Modern Art: "Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Report" (1954); p 4.
- 112 The running expenses (\$300,000) for the first 3 years had been contributed by only 20 - 30 persons from the small circle of those already known to be involved with modern art. Goodyear: op cit; p 16. Of the \$600,000 raised in 1934 \$400,000 came from only 3 sources - Carnegie (\$100,000), Abby Rockefeller (\$200,000) and \$100,000 from an anonymous source. Alan Blackburn - letter to Philip Johnson, 24/1/1934, quoted in Lynes: op cit; p 80.
- 113 Goodyear: op cit; Appendix G.
- 114 Museum of Modern Art: "Twenty Fifth Anniversary Report": op cit; p 20. However, even in 1959 the Museum still depended on the elite to provide the funds for extraordinary expenses - of the \$25,000,000 needed for its expansion programme \$9,250,000 was donated by the Trustees and their families - Lynes: op cit; pp 392 - 393. New York Times: 17/11/1959; p 1.
- 115 After 1953, and the move to the new building, attendance trebled. In part this was attributable to the longer season (in Eighth Street the museum had closed for the summer) but this can also be ascribed to its new proximity to the Museum of Modern Art - Goodrich: Phillips: op cit, 25/3/1963.
- 116 Emily Genauer: "The Fur Lined Museum" - Harper's Magazine: 189: July 1944; pp 129 - 138. Similar sentiments were expressed in: Ralph M. Pearson: "The Modern Museum Abdicates" - Art Digest: 15/3/1953; p 29.
- 117 Clement Greenberg: "Art" - Nation: 12/2/1944; pp 195 - 196.
- 118 Thomas B. Hess - reply to a Letter to the Editor written by Alfred H. Barr refuting criticisms of the Museum of Modern Art made by Hess in an Editorial in Art News: LVI: Summer 1957; p 27 & in Art News: LVI: September 1957; p 57.
- 119 Barr: "Chronicle of the Collection 1929 - 1967"; ; p 634.
- 120 "More on View at the Modern" - Art Digest: 15/1/1953; p 13.
- 121 By this date the museum had to resort to renting 4,000 square feet of warehouse space to store the bulk of the collections. "The Invisible Collection" - New York Times: 17/11/1959; p 34. In an attempt to publicise the museum's need for extra space an exhibition was staged in 1959 contrasting the way the museum would like to present works, and the cramped way it would have

- to if it was to show any appreciable portion of the collection - John Canaday: "Art and Display": New York Times: 22/11/1959: II; p 11.
- 122 These were: "Americans 1942: Eighteen Artists from Nine States"; "Fourteen Americans" (1946); "Fifteen Americans" (1952), all organised by Dorothy Miller; "The New Decade: Twenty-Two European Painters and Sculptors" (1955), the twin show to the Whitney's which concentrated upon American art; & "The New American Painting" (1958 - 59).
- 123 In November 1940 it published a special issue of the Museum Bulletin to refute these accusations. "American Art and the Museum" - Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: VIII (1940): 1; pp 3 - 26.
- 124 See scrapbooks: Hilla Rebay Foundation Archive, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
- 125 "Non-Objective Museum Show" - New York World Telegram: 3/7/1942. See also New York Sun: 15/6/1946. Clippings in Hilla Rebay Foundation Archive, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
- 126 Burgoyne Diller: "Guggenheim Collection" - Parnassus: XI: October (1939); p 42.
- 127 Aline B. Louchheim: "Museum in Query" - New York Times: 22/4/1951: II; p 8.
- 128 Art News: 10/6/1939; p 15.
- 129 "Whitney Museum" - Parnassus (1931): IV: 7; p 1.
- 130 Lloyd Goodrich: "The Whitney Museum of American Art" - Magazine of Art: 37 (1944); p 230.
See also Forbes Watson: quoted in "Juliana Force and American Art", 1949; p 58.
- 131 Lloyd Goodrich: "The Whitney's Battle for U.S. art" - Art News: LIII (1954 - 55): 7; p 71. Lloyd Goodrich: "Past, Present and Future" - Art in America: LIV: September/October 1966; p 31. See also Baur: Cummings, op cit, 20/2/1970.
- 132 John Canaday: "Art: Whitney and Modern Museums Show Wares" - New York Times: 18/11/1955; 83.
- 133 "Modern Art on Fifty Third Street" (editorial) - New York Times: 19/10/1954; p 26.

CHAPTER 4: DEALERS FOR A GENERATION - PROMOTERS AND VALIDATORS OF THE PRE-WAR SECOND WORLD WAR AVANT-GARDE - BUCHHOLZ GALLERY (CURT VALENTIN), DOWNTOWN GALLERY (EDITH HALPERT), THE NEW ART CIRCLE (J B NEUMANN), KARL NIERENDORF GALLERY, PIERRE MATISSE GALLERY, PAUL ROSENBERG GALLERY AND THE VALENTINE GALLERY (VALENTINE DUDENSING).

To assess the effective functioning or situation of any individual dealer or grouping of dealers within the structure of the New York art market as a whole one must make an analysis via the characteristic roles possible within the dealer-gallery organisational system and, in addition, take note of the effective stance of the individual dealer in the period under consideration rather than that of his/her ostensible aims when first starting out as a dealer. Using such methods one can discern a grouping of dealers who had all begun their commercial involvement with modern art some considerable time before the start of the period under consideration who, by the decades in question, had achieved a certain position at one end of the spectrum of New York dealers: a position derived from the long association of these dealers with certain artists and styles and the prestige which these individuals had accrued over their years as dealers. In this category it is the effective functioning of the individuals within the period under consideration which is more significant than their initial aims and orientation.

All concerned had begun their art dealing careers by the mid-twenties, either in New York or in European art centres such as Berlin and Paris, although some of those in question did not open their New York galleries until the nineteen thirties or early nineteen forties. Of the whole group 3 came originally from Berlin, although there was more than a decade between the arrival of the first and the last. The first of these to arrive in New York

was J. B. Neumann, who travelled to New York in 1923 out of "curiosity" because he thought that there he might find a market for his gallery artists, such as Max Beckmann, whom he found difficulty in selling in Europe, [1] and opened the "New Art Circle Gallery" on Madison Avenue in 1924. Before journeying to the United States Neumann had previously (from 1911 onward) run a successful combined gallery, print and book shop in Berlin in which he had concentrated upon contemporary Northern European Expressionist artists (from Max Beckmann to Emil Nolde), and had produced a number of art periodicals, such as "Das Kunstblatt", and other written works which promoted the artists in whom he was interested.[2] Karl Nierendorf, who had worked with Neumann in the early nineteen twenties, [3] took over Neumann's gallery when the latter decided to stay in America for an extended period. He continued to run this until 1936 [4] when Nationalist Socialist hostility toward modern art forced the closure of his gallery and compelled him and the last of the German trio, Curt Valentin, to leave Germany for the United States.[5] Both opened premises in New York, on Fifty-Seventh Street, in 1937.[6] Before travelling to New York Valentin had worked, from the nineteen twenties onwards, for the German dealer Alfred Flechtheim whose gallery had played a major role in the introduction and promotion of French modernism and advanced German art in German art centres such as Berlin and Dusseldorf during the nineteen tens and nineteen twenties.[7] When the National Socialists came to power in 1933 Flechtheim, as a Jew, was no longer allowed to own a gallery, and his business was taken over by the "Aryan" Buchholz Gallery. With the growing threat in the early nineteen thirties of the proscription of modern art by the National Socialists, Buchholz apparently decided to sponsor a gallery in the United States, and it would appear to be with at

least some help from Buchholz that Valentin left for New York in 1936 and traded there subsequently (indeed, Valentin used the name of the Buchholz Gallery from 1937 to 1951).^[8]

The two dealers in this category who came from Paris were Pierre Matisse and Paul Rosenberg, also arrived for very different reasons and at different times. The latter, who arrived in New York in 1940 and opened his gallery there in early 1942, came from a family of art dealers who had traded in fashionable contemporary French art in Paris since the latter nineteenth century.^[9] The rise of Nazism in the nineteen thirties and the threat of war spurred Rosenberg, as a Jew, to first diversify his business to include London (he had transferred much of his stock there by the late nineteen thirties and then subsequently, when the situation in Britain became ever more risky, to travel to the United States (where he had business contacts with Harold Elphers of the Durand-Ruel Gallery).^[10] However, Pierre Matisse, son of the painter Henri, had come to New York from Paris in the mid-twenties. Although Matisse had acquired his first gallery experience in Paris he did not, once in New York, immediately open his own establishment but was associated with the Valentine Gallery (of Valentine Dudensing) where he presented a number of exhibitions in the later nineteen twenties. He only started his own gallery on Fifty-Seventh Street in 1932.^[11]

Valentine Dudensing, whose brother ran the Dudensing Gallery which specialised in primitive art, opened the Valentine Gallery on Fifty-Seventh Street gallery in 1926; and this from 1926 until its closure in 1947 was one of the foremost venues in New York for the presentation of modern European art. Soon after the end of World

War II, however, Dudensing retired from art dealing to live in France. [12] Edith Halpert, the last but not least of this group, opened her gallery on West Thirteenth Street in 1926, in what was then the vicinity of the Whitney Studio Club and the locus for American art activity in New York. Before this she had worked in an administrative capacity in a number of retailing businesses; but her involvement with contemporary American art went back some years further, for she had had some formal art training and had married the American painter Samuel Halpert in 1918.[13]

The roots in Europe of many of this category of dealers played a crucial role in their emphasis upon bringing, as Neumann himself expressed it,

"the work of leading European modern artists before the American public." [14]

These expatriate dealers were marked by their continued sponsorship whilst in New York of the artists with whom they had been most identified when still in Europe. Neumann, for example, played an important role in introducing the American art public to North European painters such as Beckmann, Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee, and exhibited them all in New York for many years. Nierendorf, who stated upon opening his New York gallery that he wished to show "the same progressive movement in art to which my previous efforts were dedicated", [15] also promoted Klee (running an almost continuous exhibition of his work from 1938 to 1947). He was Kandinsky's exclusive American representative from 1937 to 1947 (when the dealer died), having taken this agency over from Neumann,[16] and also represented German painters such as Lyonel Feininger and Carl Hofer who had not been shown by Neumann. The scope of Valentin's activities in New York reflected the range of Flechtheim's interests in Germany in the decades previously, for he

not only introduced such German artists as Kirchner to New York (in 1937) he also devoted much of his time to the Cubist painters Georges Braque, Juan Gris and Pablo Picasso.^[17] His choice of the latter, and also André Masson, for whom he was the sole New York representative, was undoubtedly influenced by his strong links with Daniel-Henri Kahnweiler of the Galerie Louise Leiris in Paris, a dealer who had himself had strong connections with Flechtheim in the early twentieth century.^[18] Valentin also devoted much time to presenting a range of modern sculpture from Arstide Maillol and Auguste Rodin to Ernst Barlach and Alexander Calder. Once in New York Paul Rosenberg continued to present modern French art from the Impressionists to the 'modern masters' of early twentieth century such as Pierre Bonnard, Braque and Picasso as he had earlier in Paris.

Although he had not formally been a dealer in Paris, the artists shown by Pierre Matisse were predominantly European "because I felt that I knew them best".^[19] His business was undoubtedly helped by his contacts with the Paris art world: first, because his continued existence owed a great deal to his trade in established modern masters of the School of Paris, particularly the work of his father Henri Matisse (for whose work Matisse was one of the most important sources in New York); and second, because in Paris he had built up contacts with members of the Parisian avant-garde of the nineteen twenties and nineteen thirties such as Joan Miró, Alexander Calder (who joined the gallery in 1934) and Giorgio De Chirico. The Valentine Gallery with which Matisse was associated in the nineteen twenties was, by the early nineteen forties, associated with high quality works by European modern masters (in particular the work of Jean Arp, Piet Mondrian and

Picasso). Dudensing also exhibited a few Americans, including Milton Avery and a number of modern 'primitive' or 'naive' painters such as Eilshemius and John Kane.[20] The Downtown Gallery established itself in the latter nineteen twenties and early nineteen thirties with a stylistically varied group of American artists [21] which included Stuart Davis (who was given his first exhibition in 1927), Bernard Karfiol (who joined in 1933), Yasuo Kuniyoshi (who had his first solo show here in 1933), Ben Shahn (who was taken on in 1929), Charles Sheeler and Niles Spencer (who both joined in the early nineteen thirties).[22]

Of seminal importance to these dealers and the role they played within the New York art market, one linked to the prestige which these establishments had within this art world, was the stress which most placed upon individual quality, both where their artists and the particular works exhibited were concerned. The Downtown Gallery had been founded to

"....present interesting exhibitions chosen from the work of the best artists representing the best tendencies in contemporary American art " [23]

and if one only eliminates the work "American" this would serve as an apposite definition of the professed aims of all those concerned in this category. Furthermore, Halpert emphasised that "selection is directed at what is enduring - not by what is in vogue" [24], and that she was interested only in those artists "who will still be good at fifty, or sixty or even eighty": [25] sentiments echoed explicitly by both Neumann [26] and Rosenberg, but implicitly shared by all members of this dealer grouping. There would also appear to have been a stress by these dealers upon the importance of their ability and reputation as connoisseurs. Rosenberg in particular considered this to be the most important prerequisite for a

successful dealer, even carrying his stress upon individual quality to the length of insisting that he would not show a work which had not gone through a double screening process to ascertain, first, that the artist was of sufficient stature and, second, that the piece itself was an excellent example of the artist's oeuvre; [27]

Within this grouping one finds some divisions as to the importance of active promotional strategies. However, these differences were not the result of the achieved position of these dealers but were the legacy of these dealers' initial commitment to the promulgation of modern art. At one end one finds the two ex-Parisians Rosenberg and Matisse, who together appear to have eschewed active promotional stratagems over-and-beyond the influence which accrued to them as the result of their successful association with critically validated and commercially successful modern art. In the case of the former

"Je trouve une toile belle lorsqu'elle se vend et je découvre les peintres lorsqu'ils ont déjà une grande notoriété et s'ils me sont demandés par ma nombreuse clientèle." [28]

However, his influence on a personal level over collectors or art professionals in New York was apparently quite pronounced. In part this was because of his long association with some of the most prestigious names and works in late nineteenth and early twentieth century French art and his success at selling some of best-known works of the modern period to some of the most notable collections. But also, his stress upon his connoisseurship, his high repute in New York in this context, and his enthusiasm for personal contacts, meant that he was able to impress his taste and opinions upon potential collectors and art professionals. [29] Matisse, who has decried any conscious intent as a tastemaker in his claim

that he

"was not thinking of being an educator, nor taking a particular interest in the collectors except for the fact that I would try to sell the type of work I like." [30]

appears to have restricted his activities to the temporary exhibition. However he, like Rosenberg, acquired prestige within the New York art market via his long association with certain twentieth century 'modern masters' such as Matisse and Miró and his subsequent successful sponsorship of acclaimed post-war School of Paris painters such as Jean Dubuffet.

The 3 dealers who came originally from Germany, however, were notable for their use of means other than the gallery exhibition in their promotion of the modern art in which they were interested. Of this triumvirate Valentin, despite his notoriously retiring approach towards potential collectors visiting his gallery, [31] was probably the most significant, certainly in the assessment of the contemporary New York art world. His seminal importance in popularising sculpture, at a time when the great majority of New York dealers concentrated on painting because sculpture was considered to be impossible to sell, was particularly noted by his contemporaries.[32] Moreover, not only did his gallery serve as a important forum in its early years for those in New York who interested in modern art but his exhibitions, some of which assumed the status of museum presentations,[33] had considerable influence upon art professionals and the art public alike. Moreover, he placed an unusual stress for the time and place upon his publishing activities. These not only included meticulously researched and scholarly catalogues (which seemed to be produced more with the art professional in mind than the casual gallery visitor) but also encompassed a substantial number of portfolios of graphics by

gallery artists (among them Feininger, Jacques Lipchitz, Kathe Kollwitz, Klee, Masson (4) and Henry Moore), the occasional monograph (for instance Will Grohmann on Klee drawings), and a number of collections of artists writings ranging from Eugene Delacroix to John Flannagan.[34] The main element of J.B. Neumann's non-exhibition promotional efforts, aside from his regular public lecturing upon art, was publishing a booklet-format occasional periodical, the "Art Lover", which was ostensibly "devoted to the neglected, misprized and little known". The issues were, however, directly related to his gallery exhibition schedule, and dealt with the artist or tendency concurrently upon display.[35] Nierendorf published a number of monographs, including the first on Paul Klee to be produced in New York (its appearance in 1941 coincided with an exhibition of the artist at the Nierendorf Gallery), a number of books by Klee himself including the "Pedagogical Sketchbooks", a series of 5 small low-priced volumes on modern art and artists entitled "XXth Century", and a number of print portfolios.[36]

One other case deserves discussion, and this is Halpert, who, despite her apparent early commitment to the idea of publicising American art and her production in the nineteen twenties of the first monographs to appear on George 'Pop' Hart (1928) and Max Weber, [37] subsequently only produced scholarly or illustrated catalogues on very rare occasions. This state of affairs can be traced to the difference between Halpert, who specialised in contemporary American artists and was thus governed by the somewhat hand-to-mouth existence often characteristic of the sale-on-consignment system, and the foregoing expatriate German dealers, whose business practices had been formed within the context of the norms of European art centres and whose activities were in the main

subsidised by the so-called "French System" of artist-patronage. Because of this Halpert, who could not have charged her artists for such promotional expenses and still maintained cordial relations with them, abjured from producing the catalogues or monographs for one that she could not afford publish for all. [38]

Within the context of tastemaking stratagems Halpert was also somewhat distinguished from the others of this category of dealers by her obvious stress on the importance of widening the social base of the market for modern art from the upper class down into the middle class. The impulse behind all this activity was her belief that exclusion from the potential art market on the grounds of modest income levels should be minimised as much as possible. One means she saw to this end was to encourage the public to buy by the presentation in exhibitions of modestly-priced work, and from 1929 onwards she staged regular mixed exhibitions of such works by gallery artists. In addition, she publicised the possibility of making purchases from her gallery on instalment terms.[39] Moreover, in the gallery's early years she sponsored lectures and organised exhibitions in non-conventional venues such as department stores, where she felt one might reach a public that would never ordinarily go to a gallery.[40] In the nineteen forties she attempted to encourage the use of contemporary American art by business, either in advertising or as decoration of corporate premises.[41] She hoped by these means to encourage a new generation of collectors to parallel each emerging generation of artists.[42] Another important element of her attempt to expand existing markets was her presentation and marketing of the younger artists who joined her gallery, whose work was invariably priced very low at first, only rising in time in direct ratio to demand.

In the pursuit of this aim there was also a deliberate separation of the generations in the presentation of the gallery artists. The Downtown Gallery premises were large enough, particularly after the move to Fifty-First Street in 1940,^[43] for Halpert to exhibit both older and younger artists simultaneously, in such a manner that clients interested in the gallery's more established names would have to walk past the work of the younger artists.^[44] This meant that the work of the new artists could be validated by the gallery's established figures, and conversely the status of the latter was enhanced by their positioning as an older generation - both strategies designed to improve the artists' commercial viability.

The position in which the dealers concerned were situated within the totality of the New York art market of the period under consideration, and their increasingly prestigious position within this, can be traced to the way in which these dealers were identified with art which had acquired critical and art-historical accreditation. This was the art which they had represented in their first years of involvement with art dealing; and although in most cases these dealers had played crucial roles in introducing their artists to the American public and in creating markets for their works, this continued identification had, by the years with which one is concerned, led to a form of creeping conservatism. That the identification of dealers in this category was with the generation of artists contemporaneous with their first involvement with art dealing, and that their initial orientation continued to colour their subsequent selections, is perhaps best demonstrated by their treatment of younger artists (particularly those added to gallery rosters in the period under consideration). It has been noted that the sale-on-consignment system normal in the New York art

market reduced any possible separation of roles between the so-called 'establishment' galleries and those concerned with the initial exposure of unknown artists. However, although the commission system theoretically allowed a dealer to take on new artists because of the reduced need for a heavy investment in an artist, one finds that with this category of dealers that artists taken on within the decades in question, i.e. at least a generation later than the artistic contemporaries of the dealers in question, rarely contributed as much to the prestige of these dealers as had their initial choices, despite the intake of at times quite large groups of younger artists into this category of gallery.

This effective conservatism was despite the professed intention of a number of these dealers to continue refreshing their rosters with "new blood", and indeed attempts by certain of them to do so. Valentin, for example, though known for his promotion of the European avant-garde in the nineteen thirties, was unable to respond to that of the post-war period in the United States. The dealer Betty Parsons is on record as saying that it was to Valentin's gallery that this generation of American artists aspired, as he was one of the most respected dealers in the country, but that he confessed to her in conversation that he could not "see" the work of these new artists.^[45] Indeed, the only young American that Valentin was to show was the sculptor David Smith (in conjunction with Marian Willard) in the early nineteen forties. However, he did introduce New York to the work of post-war English artists such as Henry Moore, Ben Nicholson, John Piper and Graham Sutherland, and that of the Italian artists Marino Marini and Giorgio Morandi. However, these artists were perceived by some American critics as being more conservative than their American

counterparts. Matisse, although much of his dealing remained focused upon the Paris avant-garde of the nineteen twenties, did take on a number of 'new' artists over the years, although it must be stressed that by the time he began to exhibit the work of these artists in New York their reputations had already been assured in Paris. In the nineteen forties he became the exclusive American representative for Yves Tanguy and Alberto Giacometti, [46] and subsequently exhibited a few post-war School of Paris painters such as Jean Dubuffet and Jean-Paul Riopelle. With respect to Neumann, despite his declared early intention "to select the most earnest production of the newer and younger artists" [47] and his sponsorship of younger Americans such as Lee Gatch [48] and Karl Knaths, his support for younger or/and American artists remained subsidiary to the main early twentieth century thrust of his business. Nierendorf, whose involvement was also with the European avant-garde of the nineteen twenties, only exhibited a handful of American artists in the nineteen forties.[49] Rosenberg was never identified with European artists of anything later than the early twentieth century; and the only 'new blood' which he introduced was a number of American contemporary painters in the nineteen forties whom he felt was sympathetic in character to the French art with which he was associated. Those who appealed to him were Milton Avery, Marsden Hartley, Knaths, Abraham Rattner and Max Weber. However, his commitment to these painters does not appear to have been unreserved. Indeed, his motive for taking them on was apparently as much to do with a feeling that he should in some way express his gratitude for his chance of a new life in the United States as with his admiration for their work, and his association with most of them was not prolonged.[50]

In Halpert's case, although she theoretically should have demonstrated the greatest involvement with a replenishment of her gallery stable, the indications of her increasing distance from new developments can be seen in the frequency with which new artists were added to the gallery roster, and also their acquired status after a number of years with the gallery. The largest single intake was in 1936 (following Halpert's involvement in the organisation of a large exhibition of W.P.A. art in Washington) when 12 artists were added to the gallery roster - among them Jack Levine, Mitchell Siporin and Karl Zerbe - of which half were of a younger generation than the original gallery group.^[51] It was her practice to allow some time to elapse between additions to the gallery roster, so that each artist had some time to become established, ^[52] but although many of those who joined in 1936 were becoming well known by the early nineteen forties the subsequent intake was rather erratic. Only a few were added in the early part of the decade and none at all between 1946 and 1951, when 9 young artists were taken on to form the final addition to the gallery group.^[53] Indeed, by the late nineteen forties an estimation of her gallery was that it

"didn't have the same kind of excitement that it had before. Now there were other galleries dealing with American art and younger artists." ^[54]

The shift in emphasis and interest was formalised in 1953, when it was decided to effectively split the Downtown into two galleries - with Halpert retaining the 10 artists with whom she had been associated with on-and-off since the nineteen twenties (these were Stuart Davis, Arthur Dove, Karfiol, Kuniyoshi, John Marin, Georgia O'Keefe, Shahn, Sheeler, Spencer and William Zorach) while her gallery assistant at the Downtown, Charles Alan, was to take on the responsibility for all the younger ones or later additions. ^[55]

One finds a range of financial arrangements between gallery artists and dealers in this category. Among those dealers who concentrated on European work one finds a combination of both the so-called "French System" and that of sale-on-consignment. Direct purchase was the most common means of obtaining European works; but a number of artists (particularly the younger ones) were placed under some kind of contract to ensure that the dealer had exclusive American representation of them, even to the extent of the dealer acting as a kind of patron - for instance, Valentin seems to have had a very close relationship with his younger European artists.

"He kept to only a few artists and these he called his boys. They were his family and he looked after them and felt towards them like a father." [56]

With these artists Valentin apparently sent monthly stipends and, moreover, did not apparently charge any exhibition expenses to any of those whom he exclusively represented.^[57] Neumann supported a small number of his gallery group, most notably Beckmann (for many years from 1925 onwards) and Gatch (although he usually handled his American artists on a commission basis),^[58] but his frequently insecure financial position minimised the consistency of his financial aid.^[59] Matisse had a number of artists under contract, including Tanguy,^[60] but handled them on a mixture of consignment and "French" terms.

Halpert, the only one of this group to handle American artists exclusively, projected an image of herself as acting as an "agent" for her artists.

"The system practised by the fewest galleries which do the most to promote the artist ... is a permanent sponsorship, with no expense to the artist whatsoever other than the 33 1/3% commission when the sale is effected. The Downtown Gallery has always practised this method in spite of the deficit caused by the ever-mounting overhead." [61]

However, the real picture was somewhat more complex. The gallery

may well have charged some expenses, if Charles Alan (her long-standing gallery assistant) is to be believed.^[62] Halpert put her stress on commission because she believed that to buy work outright from gallery artists was to create "competition for them with the works we own".^[63] With a number of her younger artists, however, she did experiment with alternatives to the sale-on-consignment norm. At least one artist, Jack Levine, was placed under a contract whereby he was paid an annual stipend (\$3,000). However, if the amount realised from his sales totalled twice the amount advanced then the excess was to be divided equally between the artist and gallery.^[64] In 1951, with the 9 young artists taken on and exhibited as a group in the "Ground Floor Gallery", each artist was given an yearly stipend in return for which the gallery received an agreed annual minimum number of works. The gallery had an option to renew the contract annually for 5 years, but the artist was protected by an 'escalator' clause which allowed for the possibility of his/her participating in any rise in his/her prices. Halpert considered this arrangement to be significant because it demonstrated to the public that the gallery had confidence in these new artists, and hoped that this would reassure potential collectors.^[65] Although this last development occurred at a time when the Downtown Gallery was becoming better capitalised and Halpert better able to use her profits towards some subsidy, up until the early nineteen forties she had had to use her profitable trade in American primitive art, and more particularly William Harnett, to underwrite her handling of contemporary American painters. ^[67]

One can regard the position which this group held was the outcome of both the long careers of these dealers and their

continuing identification with the avant-garde of the time and locale at which they first became dealers, long after these had become publicly accepted and commercially successful. These dealers were judged by art professionals and collectors of the period to have achieved the characteristic aim of any dealer: the successful selection of the best art and artists of the dealer's time. These dealers, by virtue of their relatively early involvement with the promotion of modern art in New York, can be considered as having, as the museum director Perry T. Rathbone expressed it

"reveal[ed]for the first time in America not a few of the artists and many of their most famous works." [68]

Within the context of the New York art market as a whole, particularly in the nineteen forties, these galleries were regarded as among the most prestigious. By the years with which this study is concerned one can regard them as providing a yardstick against which the public might measure other newer ventures, so high were their reputations both for individual probity and for the general level of quality of the artists shown. In this, they had assumed a position within the organisational structure of the New York art market somewhat similar to that of the institutional tastemaker-validator, rather than the relatively more crusading promotional roles played by most other dealers.

NOTES

- 1 J. B. Neumann: "Confessions of an Art Dealer", unpublished typescript, n d. - J. B. Neumann File, Archives, Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- 2 J. B. Neumann Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number N/69 - 93. Dore Ashton: "Art World Has Been His Life" - New York Times: 3/2/1957: II; p 10.
- 3 J. B. Neumann: "Confessions of an Art Dealer", unpublished typescript, n d. - J. B. Neumann File, Archives, Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- 4 "Karl Nierendorf 1889 - 1947" (chronology), Karl Nierendorf File, Archives, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.
- 5 This was although neither of the two was Jewish. Valentin was, however, considered to be a "percentage non-Aryan" - Jane Wade: "On the Death of Curt Valentin", Jane Wade Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2322.
- 6 Note from Mrs Oscar Fishinger, 20/8/1976, Archives, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.
- 7 For a discussion of Flechtheim see:
Christian Zervos: "Nos Enquêtes - Entretien avec Alfred Flechtheim." - Cahiers d'Art: 1927: 10: Feuilles Volantes II; pp 1 - 2.
- 8 Neumann: "Confessions of an Art Dealer": op cit.
Dorothy Miller: Paul Cummings, interview, 18/5/1971, Archives of American Art.
"Curt Valentin: Maecenas of Modern Art", p 47, Marlborough-Gerson Gallery, exhibition catalogue, 1963.
The decision to come to New York might have been encouraged by contacts that Valentin and Flechtheim had made in America with collectors there who had patronised the gallery in Germany. Valentin had made at least one trip to New York before 1937, as evinced by a letter from him to the collector E. M. M. Warburg of 5/1/1934 - Edward M. M. Warburg Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 9 His father had established himself as a "négociant d'objets d'art" in the nineteenth century, and his brother Leonce was, together with D - H Kahnweiler, one of the most important dealers concerned with Cubism in Paris in the 1910s and 1920s. E. Teriade: "Nos Enquetes - Entretiens avec Paul Rosenberg" - Cahiers d'Art: 1927: 9: Feuilles Volantes II; pp 1 - 2.
E. Teriade: "Nos Enquêtes - Entretiens avec Leonce Rosenberg" - Cahiers d'Art: 1927: 6: Feuilles Volantes II; pp 1 - 3.
Malcom Gee: Dealers, Critics & Collectors of Modern Art in Paris 1910 - 1930; pp 59 - 65.
- 10 He had also attracted special Nazi emnity by organising a dealer boycott (which successfully depressed prices) of an auction of "degenerate" art held in Switzerland in 1938, at which the Nazis hoped to raise needed foreign exchange. For this information I am indebted to Alexandre Rosenberg, son of Paul, in an interview at his gallery of 3/4/1985.
- 11 Pierre Matisse: interview with author in gallery, 22/4/1985.
- 12 After his official retirement Dudensing apparently continued to privately deal in the works of American naive painters such as Eilshemius. "Valentine Gallery" - Art News: XL (1941 - 42): 17; p 20.
It was rumoured that this gallery was underwritten by the collector Walter Chrysler Jr. - "Fifty-Seventh Street" - Fortune: September 1946; p 151.
- 13 Edith Gregor Halpert Papers. Archives of American Art, Microfilm

- Roll number 1883.
- 14 J. B. Neumann, statement, n d. - J. B. Neumann Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No N/69 - 93
 - 15 Karl Nierendorf: catalogue introduction to Kandinsky exhibition at the Nierendorf Gallery, 1941 - Karl Nierendorf File, Archives, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.
 - 16 J. B. Neumann Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number JBN3.
 - 17 James Thrall Soby: "Curt Valentin", typescript, n d; p 1 - Curt Valentin Papers, Archives, Museum of Modern Art, New York.
 - 18 This link was considered so strong by Kahnweiler that he said in later years: "When he [Valentin] went to New York, it was obvious for him and for me that he was to be our representative there", Daniel H. Kahnweiler, 6/7/1963, Quoted in "Curt Valentin: Maecenas of Modern Art"; op cit.
 - 19 Pierre Matisse: op cit.
 - 20 Up until he closed down Dudensing was the sole New York representative for Mondrian's work. Indeed, it was the sale of one of this painter's pieces, "Victory Boogie Woogie" to the collectors Burton and Emily Tremaine which was apparently used to finance his retirement.
 "Valentine Gallery" - Art News: XL (1941 - 42): 17; p 20.
 "Fifty-Seventh Street": Fortune: September 1946; p 151.
 Sidney Janis: Paul Cummings, interview, 11/4/1972. Archives of American Art.
 - 21 This diversity was apparently a point of policy on Halpert's part. Edith G. Halpert: Draft history of the gallery, typescript, 10/9/1963, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1883.
 - 22 Previous to joining the Downtown Kuniyoshi, Sheeler and Speicher had been handled by Charles Daniel, whose gallery closed down in 1932.
 Shahn had a chequered career with the gallery - after joining it in 1927, he left in the mid-thirties (for the Julien Levy Gallery), but returned again in the early 1940s. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number ND/46.
 Stuart Davis also apparently left for a period between about 1932 and the latter nineteen thirties. Charles Alan: Paul Cummings, interview, 20/8/1970, Archives of American Art.
 For a complete list of artists belonging to the gallery consult the Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls number ND1 to ND71.
 - 23 Press Release, November 1926. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number ND/46.
 - 24 Ibid.
 - 25 Edith G. Halpert - letter to Joseph Glasco, 9/2/1953, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 26 J. B. Neumann: "Confessions of an Art Dealer"; op cit.
 - 27 Alexandre Rosenberg: op cit.
 - 28 E. Teriade: "Entretiens avec Paul Rosenberg": op cit.
 - 29 Alexandre Rosenberg: *ibid.* For Paul Rosenberg's reputation as a connoisseur see: "Masterpieces Recalled", exh. cat., Paul Rosenberg & Co, 6/2 - 2/3/1957.
 - 30 Matisse: op cit.
 - 31 Thomas B. Hess: "Choice's Dealer" - Art News: LXII (1953 - 54): 8; p 27.
 - 32 "Artist and Maecenas: Curt Valentin": op cit.
 Soby: op cit.
 - 33 "In Memory of Curt Valentin 1902 - 1954" (text by Perry T. Rathbone), Curt Valentin Gallery, exh. cat., 1954.

- 34 For a complete list of these publications see "Curt Valentin: Artist and Maecenas"; op cit.
- 35 Ashton: op cit.
- 36 A complete list of these publications is to be found in the Karl Nierendorf File, Archives, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.
- 37 The former was written by Holger Cahill - Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number ND/46.
- 38 Edith G. Halpert: letter to R. P. Corbett, 5/5/1952 - Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 39 Statement, 17/5/1933 - Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number ND/46.
- 40 Edith G. Halpert: "Art Dealer in America", draft, 1961. Edith Gregor Halpert Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No 1883.
- 41 "Art and the Businessman": Office Management; December 1953 - clipping in Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
Edith G. Halpert: letter to H. Bunn (Bakelite Corp.), 24/11/1953. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 42 "Downtown Gallery Re-opens Uptown" - Art Digest; 15/10/1940; p 11. "51st Street Becomes Downtown" - Art News: XXXIX (1950 - 51): 3; p 12.
- 43 Edith G. Halpert: text of speech delivered in Chicago, 9/11/1948. Edith G. Halpert: untitled draft, 1965. Edith Gregor Halpert Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No 1883.
- 44 The newer generation of artists exhibited at street level (the 1936 intake were shown in what was then called the "Daylight Gallery", the 1951 intake were displayed in the "Ground Floor Gallery").
- 45 Quoted in: Calvin Tomkins: "Profile - Keeper of the Treasure" - New Yorker: 9/6/1975; pp 51 - 52.
- 46 Tanguy had previously shown at Julien Levy in the 1930s, but joined Matisse when he arrived in New York as it was Matisse who had helped him to come to the country - Julien Levy: Memoirs of a Gallery; p 117.
For a comprehensive List of Exhibitions see Pierre Matisse Gallery File, Library, Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- 47 J. B. Neumann, statement, n. d. J. B. Neumann Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number N/69 - 93.
- 48 Lee Gatch Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number NLG - 1.
- 49 Nevelson was given her first New York solo show by Nierendorf in October 1942. "Karl Nierendorf Exhibitions", typed chronology, Karl Nierendorf File, Archives, Solomon R Guggenheim Museum.
- 50 Avery's contract was terminated in 1950, and Rattner's several years later because Rosenberg felt that their work was declining. Weber left the gallery because he felt that the gallery did not devote as much energy to the American artists as to the Europeans. Alexandre Rosenberg: op cit. The last two artists then went to the Downtown Gallery.
- 51 Other artists taken on at this time were: Rainey Bennett, Raymond Breinin, Louis Gugliemi and Edmund Lewandowski. Edith G. Halpert: text of Chicago speech, 9/11/1948, Edith Gregor Halpert Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 1883.
- 52 Edith G. Halpert: letter to Edward J. Burns, 6/10/1952. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 53 One of the few painters to be taken on in the early 1940s was Jacob Lawrence, in 1941. Amongst the group taken on in the later 1940s were Herbert Katzman, Jonah Kinigstein, Walter Meigs,

- Charles Oscar, Carroll Cloar, Robert Preusser and Robert Knipschild. Charles Alan: Paul Cummings, interview, 29/8/1970. Archives of American Art.
- 54 Charles Alan: Paul Cummings interview, 20/8/1970. Charles Alan was Halpert's main assistant for the best part of a decade, from the latter nineteen forties to the middle nineteen fifties. See also John I. H. Baur about Halpert in his interview with Paul Cummings, 19/2/1970, Archives of American Art. For instance, Halpert had been approached by Peggy Guggenheim in 1946 in the hope that she might take over Pollock's contract, but she refused. Edith G. Halpert: letter to Peggy Guggenheim, 20/3/1946 - Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 55 Dove, O'Keefe and Marin had been associated with Steiglitz for much of this period via his various galleries, but for a number of years between "291" closing and "The Intimate Gallery" opening in 1927 and after his death in 1946 they were handled by the Downtown Gallery. Edith G. Halpert: letter to Lawrence Fleischman, 15/7/1953 - Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. See Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 1381.
- 56 Henry Moore: letter of 13/9/54 - Jane Wade Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2322.
- 57 "On the Death of Curt Valentin" - Jane Wade Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2322.
- 58 Charles Howard: letter to Betty Parsons, 25/3/1948 - Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. J. B. Neumann: "Confessions of an Art Dealer"; op cit.
- 59 J. B. Neumann Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls number JBN3 to JBN5. Lee Gatch Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number NLG - 1.
- 60 Levy: op cit; p 117.
- 61 Edith G. Halpert: "No Gambles at Downtown" (Letters to Editor) - Art Digest: 15/2/1951; p 4.
- 62 Charles Alan: letter to Carroll Cloar, 2/3/1957 - Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 1379. I have been unable to verify either statement as the financial records of the Downtown Gallery, held by the Archives of American Art, have been sealed until 25 years after Halpert's death.
- 63 Edith G. Halpert: letter to Edwin Livergood, 31/1/1952 - Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 64 Edith G. Halpert: letter to Jack Levine, 28/11/1949 - Downtown Gallery papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. 65 Aline B. Louchheim: "Art and Economics" - American Artist: 16 (1951): 2; p 60. "Downtown Gallery: a new departure at 25" - Art Digest: 15/11/1951; p 17. "Ground Floor Group" - Art Digest: 1/11/1952; p 18. "New Crop of Painting Proteges" - Life: 13/3/1953; pp 87-88.
- 66 Edith G. Halpert: "Art Dealer in America", draft, January 1961.
- 67 Edith Gregor Halpert Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 1883.
- 68 Perry T. Rathbone: "Eulogies" - Arts Digest: 1/10/1954; p 22.

CHAPTER 5: PROMOTERS AND VALIDATORS OF THE POST-WAR AMERICAN AVANT-GARDE - SIDNEY JANIS GALLERY, SAMUEL KOOTZ GALLERY, LEO CASTELLI GALLERY.

There appear to be several factors which distinguish dealers as 'promoter-validators' of post-war avant-garde art. One was that these dealers shared a business background and utilised such experience to further their careers as dealers. In connection with post-war avant-garde American art it was such attitudes which helped to distinguish these dealers from their 'gatekeeper' contemporaries who often professed to adhere to an idealistic non-commercialism.^[1] Moreover, such dealers tended to have been involved with modern art in a critical and/or collecting capacity before commencing their dealing careers, something of great significance to the manner in which such dealers presented post-war American avant-garde art. These dealers emphasised the creation of a gallery identity and the deliberate espousal of particular stylistic developments in a way that the gatekeeper dealer with his/her emphasis upon artistic individuality did not. It was this concern with critical or art historical concepts which meant that the 'promoter' was functionally situated at a further remove from the artist-producer than the 'gatekeeper' within the totality of the New York art market, although the choices of the 'promoter' might be quite adventurous in strictly commercial terms. Such dealers were, instead, effectively focused more upon the potential consumer-collector than the artist; and in accordance with their promotional function such dealers marketed the artists with whom they were involved rather than merely providing an exhibition venue.^[2] The first of these 3 dealers to be discussed under this category to start a gallery was Samuel Kootz, who opened his on East Fifty-Seventh Street in early 1945; the second was Sidney Janis who opened his gallery on Fifty-Seventh Street in 1948; the third was Leo Castelli,

who opened his on Seventy-Seventh Street in the 1956 - 1957 season.[3]

Sidney Janis had initially had a profitable career in the garment industry, making his fortune in the nineteen thirties as a manufacturer of men's shirts. His involvement with modern art had, however, begun in the middle nineteen twenties when he commenced his collection of European modernism. This in turn eventually brought him into contact with the newly formed Museum of Modern Art,[4] whose Advisory Committee he was asked to join in 1934 and for whom he organised a number of exhibitions in the late nineteen thirties and early nineteen forties.[5] His activity as an art critic and historian was noteworthy mostly in the nineteen forties after he had retired from the garment industry in 1939. During this decade he published 3 books - the first, "They Taught Themselves" (1942) dealt with American primitive painters (in whom he was interested as a collector); the second, "Abstract and Surrealist Art in America" (1944) was the earliest book to discuss the new generation of American painters (later to become known as Abstract Expressionists) alongside European modernism; and the third, "Picasso - The Recent Years" was the first American publication to deal with Picasso's war-time work. Samuel Kootz, too, was active as a critic-historian in the early nineteen forties before opening his gallery in 1945. He had first become known as a critic in 1930, when he had published a book entitled "Modern American Painters" and organised an accompanying exhibition at the Demotte Gallery.[6] He had originally trained as a lawyer, but abandoned this in the nineteen twenties for a career in first advertising and then textile manufacturing (in the nineteen thirties).[7] Although he apparently continued to be interested in

contemporary American art during the nineteen thirties he does not appear to have had any further any active involvement in the field until the early nineteen forties when, in late 1941, he organised a large mixed group exhibition of contemporary American art at Macy's Department Store in New York.^[8] In 1943 he published "New Frontiers in American Painting" (an exhibition was held at the Downtown Gallery to accompany the book's publication). In this publication, in contrast to Janis who in his "Abstract and Surrealist Art" had included some of the younger American artists then working out new styles, Kootz concentrated for the most part on the work of contemporary American artists who (although not always commercially successful by that stage) had found their mature style by the nineteen thirties. However, the process of researching for this book appears to have increased Kootz's awareness of what was happening in the New York art world, with the result that he apparently changed his mind about the lack of creativity he had earlier complained about as endemic in American contemporary art, and this stimulated him to consider the idea of opening his own gallery.^[9] Unlike Janis, Kootz does not appear to have been a collector at any stage, although he was a member of the Advisory Committee of the Museum of Modern Art for a short period. However, the third person in this category, Leo Castelli, was a collector for many years before opening his gallery in 1956. Born in Italy, he had initially been involved in banking and had come to the United States via Paris in 1941. Once in New York, although primarily employed in his family's business interests, he quickly became involved with the Surrealist milieu in New York (he had previously met many of the artists in Paris, where he had been financially involved with the Galerie Drouin, which had showed Surrealists for a brief period before the war).^[10] After the

war, though still ostensibly a businessman and collector, he became involved in dealing privately.^[11] In 1947, after the death of the dealer Karl Nierendorf, Castelli was asked by Nina Kandinsky to handle that work of her husband's which had been left unsold by Nierendorf at the time of his death.^[12] Also in the late nineteen forties Castelli increasingly became involved with, and interested in, the new American art, having been introduced to many of the artists by the critic Clement Greenberg; and in 1951 he helped to organise the "Ninth Street Show", a large artist-arranged group show which included work by most of the up-and-coming 'first-generation' Abstract Expressionists.^[13] In the early nineteen fifties he had an informal arrangement with the Janis Gallery, and organised the American half of the 1951 exhibition "Young Painters of the United States and France." ^[14]

The backgrounds which these dealers had in art criticism and collecting was the crucial factor in giving these dealers the

"...ability to explain their [a picture's] importance in the history of art, and, at the same time, to communicate ..[their] .. own enthusiasm for them." ^[15]

These dealers had to be identified with both a stylistic tendency and distinctive artistic personas to ensure the successful careers of both artists and gallery, and to do this these dealers had find a fine balance between unity and individuality, stylistic coherence and strong artistic personality. One finds that these dealers could not rely upon becoming identified in the art public's mind with certain artists and stylistic developments, as had their predecessors in an era when galleries willing to concern themselves with modern art had been few and far between and in consequence immediately noteworthy. Instead they had to set out to create a position for themselves within the structure of the New York art

market.

The reputation of Janis' gallery was set initially in the latter nineteen forties and early nineteen fifties by a series of museum-quality loan exhibitions which distinguished the gallery as one concerned with modern art of critical or art-historical importance. Among these shows were the 1950 "Challenge and Defy: Extreme Examples of Twentieth Century Artists, French and American", and the 1953 "International Dada".^[16] When the gallery gradually signed up the 'first-generation' Abstract Expressionists its association with these artists was presented as being a continuation of the earlier concentration upon avant-garde artists of accepted art historical significance. Sidney Janis himself described the composition of his exhibition schedule as the result of his being:

"..... interested in good things. And I was interested in the twentieth century. The fact that we hung a great Cubist picture and a great Léger and a great Mondrian in company with a de Kooning and Pollock, Rothko and Kline, and so forth, was a natural thing. In my book they were good artists."^[17]

In his first years as a dealer (from 1945 - 1948) Kootz's gallery group was quite diverse stylistically, although the great majority were younger American artists working in an abstract vein - the group included William Baziotes, Romare Bearden, Byron Browne, Adolf Gottlieb, David Hare, Hans Hofmann, Carl Holty and Robert Motherwell. However, from 1949 onwards, when Kootz re-opened his gallery on Madison Avenue (he had closed down in 1948 and had dealt privately for the year 1948 - 1949 as the sole New York agent for Picasso's post-war production), ^[18] one finds that Kootz appears to have placed greater emphasis than before upon establishing a more unified stylistic identity for his gallery: the key words he used in describing what qualities he then sought in an artist were

"introspection", "automatism" and "subjectivity".[19] These qualities were associated with Kootz's judgements as to what new trends would be the most significant in post-war American art. As a result of the decisions he made at this time he did not in his new gallery take up Bearden, Browne and Holty. Ostensibly this was because they were too "objective", but in reality it was because their cubist-influenced styles were increasingly coming to be criticised by critics such as Clement Greenberg as retrograde and derivative. Instead Kootz reinstated on the gallery roster the artists earlier associated with him who were then increasingly being discussed within the critical umbrella of "American abstract expressionism" - Baziotes, Gottlieb, Hare, Hofmann and Motherwell.[20] Because of his somewhat later entry into formal art dealing, the artists whom Castelli initially took on as his gallery group in the latter nineteen fifties (Jasper Johns, Marisol, Robert Rauschenberg) were chosen with a view to selecting younger artists who were developing distinctive alternatives to the Abstract Expressionist paradigm of the preceding decade - artists, as Castelli himself put it, who were

"... so different and so unusual that it would be impossible to mistake them for someone else."[21]

What must distinguish this category of dealers is that all of the "promoter-validator" dealers showed prominent European painters alongside their Americans, ostensibly, as Janis phrased it, to provide

".... a standard of appreciation based not only on proved aesthetic values in modern art, but also on his own recognition of such values in the work of new painters."[22]

Janis, however, only became established as a 'promoter-validator' after a number of years because in his first few years as a dealer his exhibition schedule was dominated by European modern masters

such as Fernand Léger, Piet Mondrian, Robert Delaunay, and Wassily Kandinsky while those Americans he showed tended to be rather idiosyncratic selections such as the naïf artist Janet Sobel. It was only in 1952, when Jackson Pollock joined his gallery, that Janis began to be involved to any significant extent with post-war American abstraction. In subsequent years other names also entered the gallery roster - Willem de Kooning and Arshile Gorky in 1953, Rothko in 1955, Philip Guston and Franz Kline in 1956, Robert Motherwell in 1957 and finally William Baziotes in 1959 - until by the late nineteen fifties all the major names of the first generation of Abstract Expressionists were part of Janis Gallery stable, an involvement necessarily reflected in the exhibition schedule. Although there was little side-by-side contrast within the same displays between established Europeans and the new Americans, it was possible for the public to draw the required conclusions for themselves because of the relatively short time span between an exhibition schedule dominated by Europeans and one in which Abstract Expressionism predominated.^[23] As Castelli later put it

"....Sidney who had sold all these Legers, these beautiful Cubist paintings was able to impress the feeling that.... so this man who had handled all this superb material was now handling Pollock and de Kooning so Pollock and de Kooning must be good."^[24]

Like Janis, Castelli at first showed a mixture of European and American art, in the latter's case the same art which he collected and in which he had previously dealt privately (Pollock, David Smith, Jean Dubuffet, Mondrian, Kandinsky, Alberto Giacometti and Leger).^[25] However, once he became more interested in the work of new American artists his exhibition schedule concentrated on his American group, interspersed with exhibitions of the European "classics" which Castelli felt were necessary to attract collectors

to the gallery and to validate his gallery group.[26]

One can regard the above use of older, more established European artists of the early twentieth century avant-garde to endorse younger American artists as a conventional use of validation by art dealers. However, Kootz used the strategy of comparison in a novel two-pronged fashion, the first along the more traditional lines, the second more unconventional. In the first context, in the opening exhibition of his gallery in 1945 Léger's paintings formed the main focus of the show, but alongside these one work by each of the 4 American artists then in the gallery group (Baziotes, Fritz Glarner, Holty, and Motherwell) were displayed. [27] Similarly, the general exhibition schedule, although predominantly American, included the occasional exhibition of a major European modernist painter (the most notable was the 1947 display of some of Picasso's war-time production, the first show of such work in New York).[28] However, in the nineteen fifties Kootz devised what must be seen as an original variation of this more conventional stratagem. He realised that there was a great reluctance on the part of America's wealthiest collectors to buy modern American art at that time, as they considered it inferior to European. Kootz realized that it was imperative, if post-war American art was to make any significant impression upon the most prestigious and moneyed end of the art buying public, that such collectors were enticed into his gallery. To help him accomplish his aim of stimulating interest in his American artists, Kootz took on a number of European post-war painters, such as Georges Mathieu and Pierre Soulages (both taken on in 1954), [29] whose work he thought in sympathy with his Americans. At the same time, Kootz also situated the 'first-generation' Abstract Expressionists

as an older generation becoming more established in critical and commercial terms, by staging a number of "New Talent" shows in the gallery during the early nineteen fifties.[30]

As promoters these dealers were not just content with providing exhibition venues for their artists, but tried to further their reputations in a number of other ways. One means was to produce publications such as substantial commemorative catalogues. This was an important step at a time when there were still few books on modern art published in New York. It must be remembered that the normal practice in New York for the artist to pay exhibition expenses (including publicity and catalogues) meant that it was most exceptional for substantial exhibition catalogues to be produced by any New York dealer. However, the promoter-validator galleries were able to use the proceeds from sales of established and thus more highly-priced European work to underpin their gallery finances for many years and subsidise the promotion of their American rosters.[31] The most significant in this respect was Janis who regularly spent a large part of his gallery's annual budget on the production of large-format collectable catalogues, similar in purpose to museum catalogues, rather than the brief checklist that was more common among New York galleries.[32] Another means was to stage thematic, didactic or commemorative exhibitions. One has mentioned that an important constituent of the exhibition schedule in Janis' early years as a dealer was museum-quality exhibitions dealing with early twentieth century avant-garde art which had up until that point received little exposure in New York. Later on attention was called both to the prestige of the gallery concerned and to the critical situation of the artists handled by it by exhibitions, such as the 1953 "5 Years of Janis" and the 1958 "10th

Anniversary Exhibition: X Years of Janis", which included works sold by Janis to private and institutional collections. Kootz used the promotional strategy of the thematic or commemorative exhibition much more sparingly, but on occasion such shows and their accompanying catalogues were an important part of his promotional strategy to

"try to convert this group that I had and other men into the consciousness of all of America so that the movement could be started". [33]

One of these, the 1949 "Intrasubjectives" show, was seen by Kootz as an attempt to define those who were "potentially the best men in the Abstract Expressionist movement" [34] and was not restricted to Kootz Gallery artists, although all of them were included. However, one other significant attempt by Kootz to promote American post-war painting, the "Introduction to Modern American Art" show held in Paris in 1947 at the Galerie Maeght did attempt to imply that the Kootz Gallery artists were synonymous with the most noteworthy developments in this area. [35]

As part of their function as promoters, and consistent with their organisational orientation toward the consumer, all of the dealers of this category were active in encouraging new markets for their artists. For the most part this consisted of the shows such as "Collectors Annuals" or gallery anniversary exhibitions which were aimed at stimulating the market for the artists handled by these dealers by advertising what well-known museums and private collectors had already bought work from the gallery with the aim of attracting and/or reassuring prospective but hesitant buyers. Moreover, Kootz was particularly active in promoting the use of modern art by architects, and was able to arrange a number of commissions and collaborations between these and his gallery

artists. Materials related to these commissions were then exhibited in the gallery as part of the whole promotional process.^[36] Indeed, Kootz considered that this effort on his part to expand the potential art public was a major contributory factor to his gallery's eventual success.^[37]

One has noted that it was the profits which these dealers accrued from sales of early twentieth century European art which enabled them to promote their gallery rosters of contemporary artists more effectively. These greater resources also meant that these dealers were in a better position to support those living artists in whom they were interested, although this support might vary from a more formalised and constant form of subsidy or guaranteed income to loans against future sales. At one end of this scale Castelli has stated that he regarded himself as a patron, that he

"had a sense that I was not there just to sell paintings but there was a mission to be accomplished to find the best artists, to go on helping in supporting these great trends" [38]

and so was willing to support his artists during times when productivity was low or sales slack. At the other end of the spectrum Janis apparently always handled his American artists on the basis of consignment sales, although he has stated that gallery artists were not required to pay exhibition expenses. Formal contracts were apparently the exception. On occasion, as with de Kooning in 1955, Janis apparently agreed to pay the artist a monthly stipend for a fixed period while exhibiting the artist. [39] But his more usual practice appears to be that if an artist was short of funds then they would be given an advance against future sales.^[40]

Kootz's dealings with his artists encompassed both direct subsidy and sale-on-commission. In his first years as a dealer (1945 - 1948) Kootz attempted to support his artists by guaranteeing a certain income in return for all or part of the artist's future production, rather than handling their work on commission. The reason he gave for this course of action, novel within the context of dealers concerned with American artists, was that he

"... had initiated the gallery on the theory that the artists whose work I was committed to should be given economic freedom in order to further their creative abilities." [41]

All his stable were placed under contracts under the terms of which Kootz agreed to buy a minimum number of works from each artist each year in exchange for an agreed annual stipend. For instance, it would appear that Browne agreed to furnish 46 works - he was considered to be a prolific artist - for which he received \$3000 per annum in the first two years rising to \$3500 in the third year of his contract.[42] Baziotes was paid \$200 per month in return for a minimum of 12 - 13 works,[43] while Motherwell was paid \$2400 per annum for what he has called "dozens of works".[44] All the artists whom Kootz took on to the gallery roster had exhibited previously in various New York galleries, particularly Peggy Guggenheim's "Art of this Century", and it was undoubtedly this offer of economic support which attracted them to the Kootz Gallery as it offered a measure of security that other galleries were unable or unwilling to give. Motherwell was the first to join the Kootz Gallery in 1944, followed by Baziotes the following year. As Motherwell wrote to the latter painter in 1945:

"I told a man about you who might give you a contract if you want it ... I spoke to Peggy [Guggenheim] about it, and she talks as if she is going to give up her gallery after this season,..." [45]

It was undoubtedly a similar desire for security which was responsible for Hofmann leaving the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1947. As Parsons complained in a letter of that year to collector Wright Ludington:

"I have had a bad shock to find that I could no longer hold Hans Hofmann. Sam Kootz, the crocodile, has grabbed him as I was not financially able to hold him. Kootz intends to make it possible for Hofmann to give up teaching and as he is an old man that possibility for him is very important." [44]

However, when Kootz re-opened his gallery in 1949 after a year as a private dealer he abandoned his earlier attempts at dealer patronage and instead handled his American artists on the more normal sale-on-consignment terms. This was ostensibly because he then believed that

" if we really begin to go the men could make more money on consignment I felt the consignment area works better for both of us." [45]

but this reversion to the dealer-artist contractual norm may well be have been forced upon Kootz by the unbearable strains such arrangements had apparently put on his gallery's finances and his consequent inability to continue in the same fashion, swimming against the tide of New York art market conventions. [46]

Although these dealers were promoters of the post-war American avant-garde, in many respects such dealers occupied a position within the New York art market analogous to that achieved over time by those dealers associated with presenting the pre-war avant-garde, and as such occupied the more critically prestigious reaches of the gallery network in New York. One contributory factor to this was the manner in which such dealers presented the post-war avant-garde in a critical and art-historical context, particularly with reference to established European modern artists. Another element

was that the functional positioning of these dealers closer to the consumer grouping than to the producer-set (unlike the gatekeeper dealer with his/her emphasis upon the individual artist) and the greater emphasis placed upon creating or broadening the potential art market heightened the public profile and commercial effectiveness of these galleries. The promoter-dealer gallery was, as the Janis Gallery was described by critic B.H. Friedman, a

" ... high-powered gallery where not only the work of young Americans - - but that of established Europeans was shown and sold." [49]

For these reasons such galleries were those to which any American artists would aim to join if possible, as inclusion in a promoter-gallery's roster conferred considerable advantages in the struggle to be noticed by the more influential strata of the art market.

NOTES

- 1 Leo Castelli: Paul Cummings, interview, 11/6/1969 (Interview conducted over period 14/5/1969 - 8/6/1973) - Archives of American Art.
Sidney Janis: Paul Cummings, interview, 25/4/1972 (Interview conducted over period 21/3/1972 - 26/9/1972) - Archives of American Art.
- 2 Marcia Hammill Bystry: "The Social Production of Artistic Identity: The American Artist between 1930 and 1950" - New York University, unpublished PhD thesis, 1977.
- 3 "Kootz Opens Gallery" - Art Digest: 1/8/1945; p 9.
"Janis Opens Gallery" - Art Digest: 15/9/1948; p 19.
- 4 His personal collection was the first private collection to be displayed at the Museum Of Modern Art (anonymously) in 1935.
- 5 James Brooks: "Why Fight It?" (profile) - New Yorker: 12/11/1960; pp 70 - 72, 75 - 76.
Janis: Cummings: op cit (21/3/72 & 23/3/72).
- 6 Samuel Kootz Gallery Papers - Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1318.
- 7 Samuel Kootz: Dorothy Morse, interview, 16/4/1964 - Archives of American Art.
- 8 Included in this show were 179 works by 72 artists, and its stated aim was to show "every important movement now taking place among our painters". This exhibition, with its deliberately restricted price range of \$24.97 - \$249 as part of the movement among dealers to widen the basis of public consumption of contemporary American art via the department store.
See Samuel Kootz Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1318.
Catalogue of the exhibition, 5/1/1942 - Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 2169.
- 9 He complained in the New York Times of 10/7/1941 that there was nothing new being produced by American artists of the time. The response which came in suggested that he should look further than what was shown in galleries and go into the artists' studios.
Edgar Alden Jewell: "A Shattering Bomb" - New York Times: 10/8/1941; p 7. "A Bombshell Brings Repercussions" - New York Times: 24/8/1941; p 7.
"Challenge and Answer" - New York Times: 31/8/1941: IX; p 7.
See also Kootz in talk given at the Ringling Museum of Art in 1962. Samuel Kootz Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1320.
- 10 Castelli: Cummings; op cit (14/5/1969).
- 11 Most of this activity involved acting as an American agent for the Galerie Drouin, which had survived the war. Castelli: Cummings; op cit (14/5/1969).
- 12 Castelli: Cummings; ibid. Calvin Tomkins: "A Good Eye and a Good Ear" - New Yorker: 26/5/1980; p 47 - 48.
- 13 Castelli: Cummings; op cit.
- 14 Janis: Cummings; op cit (18/7/1972).
- 15 Brooks: op cit; p 65.
- 16 Clement Greenberg has described the gallery as "a museum-cum-seminar... that no formal museum in the country was able to match". Quoted in catalogue of "An Exhibition in Tribute to Sidney Janis", Hetzel Union Gallery, Pennsylvania State University, 3/1 - 24/1/1958.
For a full list of exhibitions see: "Three Generations of Twentieth Century Art (The Sidney and Harriet Janis Collection of the Museum of Modern Art)"; Chronology; pp 218 - 225.

- 17 Janis: Cummings: op cit (8/8/72).
- 18 "Kootz Now Private Gallery" - Art Digest: 1/9/1948; p 19.
"Kootz Re-opens" - Art Digest: September 1949; p 15.
- 19 Kootz: Seckler: op cit (13/4/1964).
- 20 The omission of these 2 artists from the gallery roster, because they did not apparently coincide stylistically with what Kootz considered to be the most worthwhile direction that modern American art could take, had unfortunate repercussions for them, and in particular Browne. It led to the most controversial event in Kootz's career as a dealer - the 1951 sale, in a large New York department store, Gimbels, of works by Holty and Browne at price levels sharply lower than those then generally obtaining for their work - with the result that the 2 painters' reputations and market were seriously impaired.
See: Advertisement for the sale in the New York Times: 4/11/1951; p 22. "Gambles and Gimbels" - Art Digest: 1/12/1951; p 5. Serge Guilbaut: How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art; p 179.
Rosalind Bengelsdorf Browne: tape-recorded monologue on the relationship between Byron Browne and dealer Samuel Kootz; n. d., untranscribed, Archives of American Art.
- 21 "Leo Castelli: Avant Garde Dealer discovers 'Breakthrough Artists'" - Art Voices: November 1962; p 27.
- 22 "Janis Opens Gallery" - Art Digest: 15/9/1948; p 19.
- 23 For a full list of exhibitions see "Three Generations of Twentieth-Century Art (The Sidney and Harriet Janis Collection of the Museum of Modern Art)": Chronology; pp 218 - 222.
- 24 Castelli: Cummings: op cit (11/6/1969).
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid (18/6/1969).
- 27 Press release, April 1945 - Samuel Kootz Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1318. "Kootz Opens Gallery" - Art Digest: 15/4/45; p 11 & 1/8/1945; p 9.
- 28 Kootz continued to stage the occasional exhibition of Picasso's post-war painting, and that of a few other French moderns such as Miró and Léger, throughout the 1950s.
For full exhibition schedule see: Samuel Kootz Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number 1318 - 1320.
- 29 Kootz: Seckler: op cit (16/4/64).
- 30 The artists included in these shows were selected by critics on 2 occasions (Meyer Schapiro and Clement Greenberg), and by Kootz himself on a third.
- 31 Kootz: Seckler: op cit.
Janis: Cummings: op cit (25/7/1972 & 29/8/1972).
- 32 Janis: Cummings: ibid (13/6/72).
- 33 Les Levine: "The Spring of '55" - Arts: April 1974; p 34.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 "Introduction to Modern American Art" was held at the Galerie Maeght under the auspices of the USIA, and included Baziotes, Bearden, Browne, Gottlieb, Holty and Motherwell. It was not well received by the Paris press, most critics comparing the work unfavourably to European as derivative.
Samuel Kootz Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1318; and Guilbaut: op cit; pp 149 - 150.
- 36 Among other commissions Gottlieb designed stained glass for the Park Avenue and Congregation Beth El synagogues, and he and Motherwell designed work for the B'Nai Israel Synagogue.
Samuel Kootz Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1318.
See also: "Signs & Symbols" - Arts & Architecture; April 1951 -

- Cutting in Samuel Kootz Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1318. "Art Assignment at New Beth El Given Noted Trio" - New York Times: 19/4/1953: II; p 9. "Art for Religion" - New York Times; 24/5/53: II; p 8. "Dealers help artists to help themselves" - Art Digest: 1/10/1950; p 11.
- 37 Kootz: Ringling Museum talk: op cit .
 - 38 Castelli: Cummings: op cit (13/4/71).
 - 39 This agreement was apparently contained in a letter of 20/5/1955 from Janis to de Kooning, and covered the period until 20/12/1956. Sidney Janis quoted in:
Lee Rosenbaum: "Issues & Commentary - Artist Gallery Contracts: Scenes from a Marriage" - Art in America; 65 (1977); July/August: pp 12 - 13.
 - 40 Janis: Cummings; op cit (25/7/1972).
 - 41 Kootz: Ringling Museum talk: op cit.
 - 42 Browne in fact handed over his entire production over the 3 year contract period - 322 works - instead of the 184 required.
Browne: op cit.
 - 43 David Porter, letter to Grace McCann Morley, 18/2/1945. Quoted in Melvin P. Lader: "Peggy Guggenheim and the Surrealist Avant Garde in New York", New York University, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1981; p 295.
 - 44 Robert Motherwell quoted in H. A. Arnason: Robert Motherwell; p 233.
 - 45 Robert Motherwell, letter to William Baziotis, Sunday (n.d.) - William Baziotis Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number N70/21.
 - 46 Betty Parsons, letter to Wright Ludington, 3/10/1947 - Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number N68 - 65.
 - 47 Levine: op cit; p 35.
 - 48 At the time of the gallery's closure in 1948 it was generally announced that this was because Kootz was to become an agent for Picasso's recent work.
See Kootz: Seckler: op cit.
The reason given by Kootz to at least one of his artists at the time he was closing his first gallery was his near bankruptcy. It would seem that the sales made by the gallery, both of American and European art, though those of the latter were used to subsidise the former, were not enough to cover his financial commitments - Browne monologue: op cit. Levine: op cit; p 34.
 - 49 B.H. Friedman: Energy Made Visible; p 201.

CHAPTER 6: PROMOTERS FOR A TENDENCY - THE A.C.A. GALLERY (HERMAN BARON), ROSE FRIED GALLERY, JULIEN LEVY GALLERY & MIDTOWN GALLERY.

Even though American dealers of the period under consideration can be differentiated by their respective orientations toward conservatism or the adventurous, it is a fact that the majority of New York dealers were undoubtedly concerned with the discovery and promotion of the individual artistic talent, and that most had gallery groups which included a relatively diverse stylistic range. However, there was a small number of dealers who consciously restricted themselves to the promotion of a specific style or group of artists, over and above any bias toward either established reputations or the avant-garde. The great distinguishing characteristic of this category of dealers is the element of consciousness. These dealers did not become identified passively via the passage of time with a particular tendency, as was the case with the 'dealers for a generation'. Instead, they deliberately set out to sponsor and create a market for a particular stylistic tendency, and continued to remain associated with their chosen styles whatever the vicissitudes of the art market as a whole. One finds that a combination of the official intent and the effective functioning of these galleries, over the period under consideration, meant that within the total New York market structure they were situated betwixt the 'dealer for a generation' and the 'gatekeeper'.

The first to open of the galleries which one can consider as being a 'dealer for a tendency' in the period under consideration is that of Julien Levy, which opened on Madison Avenue in November 1931. Levy, who came from a well-to-do New York family, had graduated from the Fine Art Department of Harvard in the mid-twenties, and had later met Marcel Duchamp and (because of Levy's

interest in avant-garde film) accompanied him to Paris. Later, Levy worked for Carl Zigrosser at the Wehye Gallery.^[1] When in 1930 Levy decided to open a gallery of his own, he decided that he had to "find a cause among my primary passions; art, cinema, and photography".^[2]

"The Julien Levy Gallery ... was to be the gallery that represented the most enduring artists of the period: the Surrealists My dream was that America, so common-sensical, would see more of that undoing ... in my gallery if my efforts might persist over the next several decades. Such avant-garde experiments had been exhilarating in Europe in the early 1920s, ... Now they might be given continuity closer to home, ..." ^[3]

The first exhibitions indicated his spheres of interest. The opening show was a mixed retrospective of American photography ^[4] while the fourth was an exhibition of Surrealist paintings, drawings and photographs.^[5] The former was the first such exhibition since Stieglitz had closed his "291" Gallery in 1917, the latter was the first Surrealist exhibition held in a commercial gallery in the United States.^[6] Included among those European artists who received their first New York exhibitions at Levy's gallery in the nineteen thirties were Giorgio de Chirico (to whom he gave his first New York exhibition in 1937 with the collaboration of the collector Dr Albert Barnes, who wrote the catalogue),^[7] Salvador Dali (in 1933), Max Ernst (whom he had first met in New York in 1927 and gave his first New York exhibition in 1932), and Yves Tanguy. In the nineteen forties, until the gallery closed in 1948 (it was also closed between 1941 and 1943 while Levy was on wartime service), Victor Brauner, Paul Delvaux, Rico Lebrun and Kay Sage were also shown.^[8]

The second of this category, in chronological terms, is the Midtown Gallery, which was founded on Madison Avenue in early 1932 "for the exhibition and sale of contemporary American art" ^[9]

of "the highest standards of craftsmanship and imagination".[10] The founder of this gallery, Alan D. Grushkin, who had undergone a fine art training in the nineteen twenties at the Fogg Museum at Harvard University, saw the gallery's most important function as being the promotion of contemporary American art at a time when he felt that there was a widespread public indifference to such art. The gallery was initially identified primarily with the younger American realist painters who had come to artistic maturity in the nineteen thirties, many of whom were associated with the Federal Art Projects (Works Progress Administration/Federal Art Project and Treasury Works Art Project) - for instance, Isabel Bishop, Paul Cadmus, Fletcher Martin and Doris Rosenthal. In the nineteen forties and nineteen fifties it continued to concentrate upon younger American realist artists, in addition to carrying many of its original generation of proteges.

The third to open was the A.C.A. Gallery, founded in August 1932 on upper Madison Avenue (although it subsequently moved to West Eighth Street in the vicinity of the Whitney Museum) by Herman Baron who had for the previous decade, since his graduation from New York University, edited and published a trade journal, the Glass Digest. [11] Initially Baron, who considered American art of the time to be unhealthily dominated by European modernism and American regionalism, hoped at his gallery to give exposure to what he saw as a viable and desirable alternative, "an American form of social art, or propaganda art ...". [12] The guiding ethos behind Baron's gallery was, as he stated it to the painter Philip Evergood in the latter nineteen thirties, to

"... specialis[e] in the human values of painting. I want to encourage that all through my development as a dealer and as a little gallery." [13]

Baron consciously distanced his gallery from others showing younger American realist artists with his stress on political consciousness and his emphasis on the A.C.A.'s role as a "people's gallery". This led him to take up the more socially critical artists associated with the W.P.A./F.A.P. programmes such as Philip Evergood, William Gropper, Joe Jones and Anton Refregier. He also showed politically conscious art produced by members of the John Reed Club (which he exhibited in late 1932); and was actively involved with the Artists' Union, whose member artists he exhibited annually.^[14] Baron appears to have viewed his gallery as something of an alternative to the mainstream commercial network, comparing it to a repertory theatre which encouraged and developed new talent, and by the same token considering most commercial galleries to be like "Broadway" theatres in their emphasis on commercialism.^[15] However, for the purposes of this study one believes that it was this gallery's orientation towards American social realist art which situates it within the totality of the New York art market as being a 'promoter of a tendency'.

Marcel Duchamp also played a role in the early involvement with art of the last of the 4 dealers in this category, Rose Fried. She had originally trained as a painter at Columbus University, New York, but in 1940 joined forces with a friend who had recently founded the Pinacotheca Gallery on Lexington Avenue. Initially this gallery did not have a specific aesthetic direction but in the early nineteen forties, soon after meeting and coming under the influence of Marcel Duchamp and Katherine Dreier of the Société Anonyme, Fried became an aficionado of early twentieth century abstract art.^[16] Initially she exhibited primarily the work of the Russian Constructivists, but she later expanded her interest to include

Picabia, the American Synchronists, Neo-Plasticism (both the European De Stijl group and American followers such as Fritz Glarner) and also European Dada (she gave Schwitters his first New York exhibition in 1947). She also played an important role in promoting Italian Futurism in the United States, and was the American agent in the nineteen fifties for the work of Gino Severini and Giacomo Balla.^[17] These artists, not then commercially viable, she sponsored because she "loved the experimental".^[18]

Of his two initial specialisations, Surrealism and photography, Levy's efforts to promote the latter as a fine art was not a success. Indeed he considered at the time that they were a total failure, although in later years museums, particularly the Museum of Modern Art in New York, were to take this branch of art up and build their own collections. In the middle nineteen thirties he abandoned his efforts in this direction and instead adopted the so-called "Neo-Romantics" - Eugene Berman, Leonid, Massimo Campigli and Pavel Tchelitchew - whose work he had first encountered in Paris in 1930, as his 'second string. However, this was not a change of direction because Levy considered the two styles to be inter-related - he saw Surrealism as "re-montaging man", whereas the Neo-Romanticists were "re-establishing man and his artefacts".^[19] Although Levy did change from promoting photography to Neo-Romanticism, his gallery remained associated with Surrealism throughout its existence.

"My Surrealist group soon became well-defined and well-known. The Neo-Romantics -never as sensational - did not attain such success. I concentrated on both groups and had frequently to explain my gallery was not devoted entirely to Surrealism although my name in the popular mind remained firmly identified with the movement." ^[20]

In his support of Surrealism and Neo-Romanticism Levy had important links with the Parisian dealers Jeanne Bucher and Pierre Colle.

The former was associated with Surrealism,[21] and it was she who introduced Levy to Ernst in 1927 (for whom Levy acted as New York dealer for most of the period 1932 to 1948, with the exception of a couple of years when he showed at "Art of this Century"). Levy met Colle when he was attempting to arrange a Dali exhibition, and subsequent to this Levy says that they developed an unofficial partnership.[22]

Both the A.C.A. and the Midtown Galleries maintained their identification with the American realism characteristic of the nineteen thirties for all the period in question, long after the painting which they were enthusiastic about had first become popular and then been overtaken critically (in the latter nineteen forties and nineteen fifties) by a new generation of abstractionists. In the nineteen fifties, however, the A.C.A. opened its doors to European "pro-objective" art, and exhibited a number of European social-realist painters.[23] Fried remained loyal to her stress on early twentieth century abstraction until the middle nineteen fifties when she decided to diversify. In a letter to Vantongerloo she stated that she had

"found it necessary to expand my program in other directions and cannot give so much time to my specialization of the past ten years. I say that with regret, for I really liked what I was showing - even if very few others did!" [24]

Initially all these dealers were concerned with giving probably their first New York exposure to the styles and artists which they espoused, much as one might expect the characteristic gatekeeper to function. Baron has gone so far as to claim that, in his eagerness to "give deserving artists an opportunity to show their work", [25] he "erred on the side of gentleness" and rejected "very

few artists who deserved a hearing".[26] In accordance with this aim the A.C.A. Gallery, from 1935 onwards, held annual competitive exhibitions, in which the winner was awarded the prize of a solo show in the gallery. A number of these artists then continued to be associated with the gallery. By 1945 it was estimated that the A.C.A. had given 300 artists initial or early exposure - among them David Burliuk, Philip Evergood, William Gropper, Robert Gwathmey, Joe Jones and Anton Refregier - while 100 had been presented in their first solo shows.[27] Although the majority of painters exhibited by Levy were European, he did introduce a number of Americans whose work dovetailed with his European Surrealists and Neo-Romantics - among them Joseph Cornell, Walter Murch, Theodor Roszak, David Hare and Arshile Gorky (whom he described as "the last of my Surrealist discoveries").[28] Levy's enthusiasm for displaying new talent diminished in the nineteen forties, however, to the extent that he apparently discouraged aspirant artists who came seeking an exhibition.[29]

Although their exhibition programmes were the main element of their promotion efforts a number of these dealers did undertake additional promotional activities, such as lecturing and publishing. With respect to the latter, however, only Levy and Baron were of any significance. In 1936 Levy published the first American book on Surrealism. In the same year, to coincide with his exhibition of the artist, he arranged for Dali to arrange the window displays of Bonwit-Teller's, the New York department store. Also with Dali, he organised the Surrealist Pavilion at the 1938 World's Fair in New York, though this venture did not turn out as either the artist conceived it or the dealer might have hoped.[30] Before opening the A.C.A. Baron had written a monograph on Hyam Solomon. In 1940 he

edited a monograph on William Gropper, and in 1946 one entitled "Twenty Years of Philip Evergood". Furthermore, he produced Art Front as the in-house periodical before handing it over to Artists Equity, and later brought out an occasional in-house magazine, entitled the A.C.A. Magazine, which contained articles by independent but partisan critics such as Elizabeth McCausland.^[31]

The other major promotional effort by Levy outside of his New York gallery was his organisation in 1941 of a travelling 'caravan' gallery (designed as an exact replica of his distinctive curved-walled premises in New York) which he took to the West Coast in the hope that he might be able to interest people there in the art he sponsored, although apparently without much success.^[32] As part of his overall promotional efforts on behalf of realist-contemporary American art, Grushkin, of the Midtown Gallery, initiated a programme of travelling exhibitions, gave a number of radio broadcasts in which he discussed contemporary American artists, and wrote a number of books on gallery artists. In an effort to stimulate an increased market for the art in which he was interested the gallery was among the earliest to encourage payment for purchases on an instalment plan. In addition, he acted as an advisor to a number of private or semi-public collectors and collections, such as the James Michener Collection, which specialised in contemporary American art, and actively sought commissions for his artists from industry.^[33] To pay for these extensive publicity activities, the Midtown deducted a special 10 per cent commission to go toward a "general advertising fund".^[34]

The financial arrangements between these dealers and their

artists show some variation from the sale-on-consignment norm, possibly because of the particular commitment exhibited by these dealers in their efforts to promote commercially unpopular art over an extended period. As the A.C.A. Gallery was ostensibly started "with the idea of helping artists" [35] a series of benefit exhibitions was held there in the Depression years of the nineteen thirties, and Baron attempted some variations on the 33 per cent commission norm. When in the gallery's early years he did not charge exhibition expenses he took a 35 per cent commission on sales.[36] However, in these years he did not accept commissions on what he considered to be "distress sales". He was willing to subsidise some of his artists, Evergood was one, during a period of poor sales or even to guarantee some kind of income (though this was very small).[37] As a rule Levy did not have formal contracts, although he had arrangements in the European manner with a number of his artists. With Berman in the early nineteen thirties Levy offered to buy most of the artist's production and gave him a guarantee of a minimum sum in return for a first choice option, the price of works calculated according to the point system and 8 sales per annum guaranteed.[38] In 1944 Levy was able to offer Gorky a contract whereby the artist received \$2,000 per annum, in return for which Levy was to receive 12 paintings and 30 drawings annually. If Gorky sold more than this number of works then sales were to be effected on the standard 33 per cent commission.[39] Moreover, over the years Levy supported his artists by directly purchasing their work. In the course of this he built up a collection, though it was unbalanced by the need to buy more work from some artists than others - this collection particularly featured Ernst, whom Levy "supported year after year", Berman, Leonid and Gorky. This was in addition to the collection built up

as the result of his practice of asking those artists he exhibited to give him one painting from each show to defray exhibition and publicity expenses, as he did not deduct these from sales, a practice most artists were apparently happy to comply with.^[40] The Midtown sold on a commission basis as a rule, although it did charge a higher commission than the 33 per cent norm (30 per cent plus 10 per cent for the "advertising fund"), and also charged a \$5 per calendar month rental for inclusion in group exhibitions.^[41]

The ability of the dealers concerned to sponsor the art they chose to be identified with, despite its oftentimes commercial non-viability, was generally only possible because the dealers concerned either had incomes other than those from gallery sales which could be used to subsidise their promotion of their main concern, or were able to subsidise their businesses with 'back-room' sales of more established work. Levy founded his gallery with the help of an inheritance which enabled him to buy paintings on a trip to Paris in the summer of 1931, and sales of these subsidised his gallery for the first seasons. Levy claims not to have received any financial assistance from his wealthy father in the gallery's early years, but he was granted the rent-free usage of premises in a building owned by his father.^[42] Furthermore, in the middle nineteen thirties he received financial support from the collector James Thrall Soby (who had a collection strong in Surrealist and Neo-Romantic art) who acquired a 49 per cent interest in the gallery (although he appears to have remained in the background).^[43] This support enabled Levy to move to larger premises in 1937. After Levy re-opened his gallery in 1943 his father overcame his reservations about his son's profession and invested in the gallery. In the early years Baron ran a picture framing business in tandem

with his gallery, and also used the profits from his trade journal to assist with gallery expenses.^[44] In the middle nineteen thirties, in an attempt to find a more secure financial base for the gallery, he constituted the gallery as a co-operative funded by the 15 gallery members (with himself as director). However, this experiment was short-lived because of dissension arising from what some artist-members felt to be Baron's over-enthusiastic involvement with the Artists' Union, and the perceived bias of the gallery toward leftist politics.^[45] The gallery's move from Eighth Street to Fifty-Seventh Street in 1943 was reputedly financed, not by buoyant sales returns, but by profits which Baron had been able to make on the Stock Market as the result of 'tips' provided by the collector Joseph Hirshhorn, who had recently become interested in some of the painters dealt with by Baron.^[46] Fried acted as an agent both for a number of American collectors, such as Harry and Lydia Winston, who were interested in the same area as herself and for a number of early twentieth century European avant-garde artists who did not have any New York gallery contracts, for instance Sonia Delaunay and Gino Severini. On these sales she charged a commission of between 10 and 15 per cent.^[47] One cannot regard these sales as being contracts in the conventional sense, for the work concerned in all cases such as these was not contemporary production but was handled as one might expect if a dealer was making a sale for a collector. Fried also undertook a number of commissions from European collectors, for example Leonid Massine, when they wished to try and sell collections of early twentieth century European avant-garde painting.^[48]

One has noted above that a number of these dealers had a measure of outside financing which allowed them to maintain their

chosen specialisations in the face of critical or commercial indifference or antipathy. However, it has to be admitted that the promotional potential of these galleries was necessarily limited by this financial position and the relative lack of resources synonymous with this state of affairs; and this reduced the importance of these galleries within the whole structure of the art market. Even when such dealers did have a supplementary source of income, their situation appears to have meant that although, like Fried and Levy, they gained often considerable critical prestige by their early sponsorship of an avant-garde style which later became successful in New York, it would appear that these dealers did not really profit from their perspicacity. For instance, although Fried was the first dealer to show the Italian Futurists from 1950 onwards (immediately after the first Italian Art show at the Museum of Modern Art), it was perhaps the dealer Sidney Janis, with his better contacts and resources, who appears to have profited most from the increasing critical status and prices of this art; and although Levy is now remembered as one of the most significant dealers of the late nineteen thirties because of his sponsorship of Surrealism and Gorky, it was almost in despair that he gave up his attempts to promote these in a gallery context in 1948.^[49]

This observation applies most to those two dealers mentioned who were primarily associated with an European avant-garde. However, with respect to those who were identified with the contemporary American production of the Depression era one has to admit that by their continuing association with styles deemed to have been superseded by subsequent developments in American art these galleries tended to marginalise themselves within the New York art market. The sign of dealer strength and success within the modern

art market is the ability to spot potentially saleable artists before anyone else: dogged persistence with artists whose critical time has come and gone tends to be regarded as a sign of incompetent judgement. Indeed, there is no doubt that the A.C.A. Gallery suffered an eclipse in its status from the latter forties onwards as abstraction became the artistic paradigm in New York and much of the realism of the Depression era was relegated to critical obsolescence or art history (although there remained a steady pool of demand for the works of those painters who had established their names in the late nineteen thirties and early nineteen forties, and these galleries were able to use this to keep going). Dealers are perhaps only tolerated in wearing their personal preferences, such as Baron's reiterated antipathy for abstraction, on their sleeves if they come to harmonize with the choices made by the most influential independent tastemakers. [50] Their refusal, or inability, to 'move with the times' reduced the market standing and promotional efficacy which these 'dealers for a tendency' had once possessed.

NOTES

- 1 Julien Levy: Memoirs of a Gallery; p 46.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Levy: *ibid*; pp 12 - 13.
- 4 Levy: *ibid*; pp 47 - 56.
- 5 Levy: *ibid*; pp 77 - 80.
- 6 Though strictly speaking the first Surrealist exhibition in the United States was held at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, Levy can claim to be "the man who organised the first Surrealist exhibition in America", for this was much the same show that was subsequently shown in his gallery in New York. Levy agreed to C. Everett Austin's (the director) request that the exhibition be seen first within a museum environment in the hope thereby of deriving greater prestige.
- 7 Levy: *op cit*; p 184.
- 8 Levy: *ibid*; pp 296 - 312.
- 9 Statement by A. Grushkin, n. d. - Midtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 10 "Introduction: New York Galleries" - Arts: April 1974; p 24.
- 11 Elizabeth McCausland: "Herman Baron"; typescript, January 1962 - A.C.A. Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No D304.
- 12 Herman Baron: "History of the A.C.A. Gallery"; typescript, 1945; p 5 - A.C.A. Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No D304.
- 13 Philip Evergood: John I. H. Baur, interview, n. d., Archives of American Art.
- 14 Baron: *op cit*; pp 18 -23.
- 15 Herman Baron: "American Art Under Attack", typescript, July 1949 - A.C.A. Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No D304.
- 16 She dates her meeting with Dreier and Duchamp to the time when the Pinacotheca moved from Lexington Avenue to West 58th Street i.e. the 1941 - 1942 season. Rose Fried: unknown interviewer, n. d. (untranscribed). Archives of American Art.
- 17 See correspondence, arranged alphabetically, in Rose Fried Gallery Papers - Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll numbers 2200 - 2209.
- 18 Fried: interview; *op cit*.
- 19 Levy: *op cit*; p 108.
- 20 Levy: *ibid*; p 158.
- 21 Malcom Gee: Dealers, Critics and Collectors of Modern Art in Paris 1910 - 1930; pp 74 - 77.
- 22 Levy: *op cit*; p 70.
- 23 Herman Baron: "The ACA Gallery: Impressions and Recollections", unpaginated - from Thirty One Contemporary Artists, a book commemorating 25 years of the ACA Gallery - A.C.A. Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No D304.
- 24 Rose Fried: letter to Vantongerloo, 16/6/1955 - Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No 2207.
See also Rose Fried: letter to Pietro Dorazio, 15/10/1956 - Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No 2202.
- 25 "ACA Moves Uptown" - Art Digest: 1/9/1943; p 18.
- 26 Herman Baron: "History of the ACA Gallery"; p 25.
- 27 "ACA, the People's Gallery Expands" - Art Digest: 15/9/1945; p 31.
- 28 Levy: *op cit*; p 282 (see also pp 283 - 285).
- 29 Levy: *ibid*; p 275.

- 30 Levy: *ibid*; pp 206 - 219.
His backer in this venture was the impresario Billy Rose.
Jimmy Ernst: A Not So Still Life; p 151.
- 31 A.C.A. Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll number D304.
- 32 "Impresario Levy to Travel" - Art Digest: 1/9/1941; p 5.
The financial backing for this venture was provided by a Baron Kufner. Levy: *op cit*; p 87.
- 33 "Introduction: New York Galleries" - Arts: April 1974; p 24.
- 34 Fletcher Martin, contract with Midtown Gallery, 7/5/1940 - Midtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. 35 Herman Baron: "The ACA Gallery: Impressions and Recollections" - A.C.A. Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No D304.
- 36 R. Graham: "A.C.A.'s Progress: A Gallery on the Move" - Art News: XLII (1943 - 44): 10; p 31.
- 37 Philip Evergood: John I. H. Baur, interview, n. d., Archives of American Art.
- 38 Levy: *op cit*; p 111.
- 39 Marcia H. Bystryn: "The Social Production of Artistic Identity: The American Artist between 1930 and 1950"; New York University, unpublished Ph.D. thesis; p 331.
- 40 Levy: *op cit*; p 156.
He says that the only artist to object to this practice was Ben Shahn, who did not exhibit again at his gallery after his first show in 1940. Such an arrangement could only be successful with the artist's full co-operation and consent.
- 41 Fletcher Martin contract; 7/5/1940 - Midtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 42 Russell Lynes: Good Old Modern; p 98.
- 43 Levy: *op cit*; pp 235 - 236.
- 44 Herman Baron: "History of the ACA Gallery"; typescript, 1945; pp 1 - 17.
- 45 Baron: *ibid*; pp 15 - 23.
- 46 Joseph Hirshhorn: Paul Cummings, interview, 16/12/1976. Archives of American Art.
- 47 On 12/10/1950 an agreement was drawn up between Fried and Severini whereby Fried became Severini's sole agent in American for the period up to 31/12/1955, where Fried was to be paid 10% of the gross sale price on any work sold - Rose Fried Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No 2206.
See also correspondence with Sonia Delaunay, 22/12/1956 - Rose Fried Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No 2202.
- 48 Correspondence with Leonide Massine, 1957 - 1958 - Rose Fried Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll No 2205.
- 49 Levy: *op cit*; p 295.
- 50 Herman Baron: "The ACA Gallery: Impressions and Recollections": *op cit*.

CHAPTER 7: FIRST GENERATION GATEKEEPERS AND NOTABLE FIRST EXPOSURE GALLERIES OF THE 1940S - ART OF THIS CENTURY (PEGGY GUGGENHEIM), CHARLES EGAN GALLERY, GALLERY 67 (HOWARD PUTZEL), BETTY PARSONS GALLERY, BERTHA SCHAEFER GALLERY, (MARIAN) WILLARD GALLERY.

In functional terms galleries of the 'gatekeeper' type are characterised by their involvement in the discovery and initial exposure of as-yet unrecognised artists. In their activity this type of dealer characteristically places his/her emphasis upon the 'cultural' rewards that might accrue from the initial exposure of artists who after some time gained critical acclaim and commercial success, rather than stressing the more immediate commercial returns assured a dealer who is more cautious and gave greater emphasis to handling artists who have already acquired some critical reputation and 'cote'. Ideally speaking the 'gatekeeper' dealer conceives his/her role, as Betty Parsons phrased it, to

"encourage the creative world to the best of my ability regardless of acknowledgement or financial reward." [1]

This bias toward the artist characteristic of the gatekeeper means that the roster of such galleries was characterised by a great stylistic variety: a diversity effectively dictated by the nature of the dealer's contacts with the producer-set, reinforced by the economic structure of such establishments and their consequential stress upon exhibition rather than promotion. This meant that within the context of the art market as a whole dealers of this category can be regarded as situated at one pole of the market - as the type nearest in orientation to the artist-producer group (with the possible exception of the artist-controlled co-operative gallery) - with the promoter and validator at the opposite extreme.

These dealers have been discussed under this heading as they

are most intimately associated with the new art of the nineteen forties, either because they started dealing in this decade or because the entire span of existence of their galleries falls within these years. Marian Willard opened her own gallery on East Fifty-Seventh Street in 1940, with the help of a \$7,000 trust fund from her parents.^[2] Peggy Guggenheim started the "Art of this Century" Gallery in late 1942. Howard Putzel ran his "Gallery 67" for the 1944 - 1945 season, in the short period between his departure from Guggenheim's gallery and his early death in the latter year. Betty Parsons raised \$5,000 to open her first truly independent venture in 1946 ^[3], the same year that Charles Egan also started.

A number of these dealers - Marian Willard, Betty Parsons, Howard Putzel and Peggy Guggenheim - came from moneyed backgrounds (the last was a scion of the very wealthy Guggenheim family whose wealth was primarily associated with mining).^[4] Of these, Willard, Guggenheim and Parsons experienced similar educational and social experiences, such as exclusive private schools for 'ladies' and an involvement in the social life of the New York wealthy, which may have disposed them towards the arts, if not necessarily modern fine art. However, the manner in which these 3 became involved with modern art differs. Although Marian Willard appears to have been interested in modern art and collecting in a minor fashion even in the middle nineteen twenties, her first real involvement in the New York art world was in the nineteen thirties as a collector. She became a dealer in the middle of the latter decade when she ran the East River Gallery on East 57th Street from 1936 - 1938.^[5] In this gallery, wherein she placed a stress upon the rental of art works in the hope of interesting people from her

own social background not only in the possibility of having original art works in their homes but also new art forms, she showed a mixture of new European and American artists chosen from those she considered as having "creativity and imagination".^[6] Following this, she worked with the dealer J. B. Neumann from 1939 - 1940 (Willard, as a collector of modern German art, had had regular contacts with Neumann earlier in the decade). It was in this period, during which she gave solo shows to David Smith and Mark Rothko, that she really began to function as a significant 'gatekeeper'.^[7] Peggy Guggenheim had from the nineteen twenties onwards been involved in the avant-garde literary circles of first Paris and later London; but she only became actively involved with the visual arts in 1938 when she opened her Guggenheim Jeune Gallery in London. At this she showed a selection of European and English modern artists such as Wassily Kandinsky, Yves Tanguy and John Tunnard.^[8] However, after sustaining what she later maintained were unacceptable financial losses over a period of approximately 18 months, she closed this gallery in 1939. She decided instead to found a modern art museum, stating her reason as "if I was losing that money I might as well lose a lot more and do something worthwhile."^[9] The intended nucleus of her museum was the collection which she had built up while running her gallery as the result of her practice of buying a work from each exhibition "so as not to disappoint the artists if I were unsuccessful in selling anything".^[10] The onset of the Second World War, in September 1939, trapped Guggenheim in Paris (where she had gone to acquire works for the projected institution), and forced the cancellation of this project. However, she continued to collect until the summer of 1940 when she was forced to flee, first to the unoccupied South of France, and then to the United States (where she arrived in

1941).[11] Parsons, who had earlier trained and practised as a painter in the United States and Paris, became involved in art dealing in 1938, working first at the Midtown Gallery and then for Mrs Cornelius J. Sullivan (one of the 3 women instrumental in founding the Museum of Modern Art) at her Arden Gallery (this sold both nineteenth and twentieth century art, particularly French and Irish). After Mrs Sullivan died in 1939, Parsons was given the opportunity to run a gallery on her own for she was asked, in 1940, by the owners of the Wakefield Bookshop to start a contemporary gallery as part of their bookshop on East Fifty Fifth Street. Here she began to show new talent. Due to her burgeoning reputation as a dealer, in 1944 she was asked by Mortimer Brandt, until then a dealer specialising in Old Masters, to start a contemporary art section in his gallery at 15 East Fifty Seventh Street. In 1946 Brandt decided to withdraw from the contemporary field and offered Parsons the space on East Fifty Seventh Street, whereupon she decided to set up her own gallery.[12]

Although little is known about Howard Putzel's background, it would appear that he had no apparent interest in or aptitude for his family's lace importing business in his earlier years, and instead became involved in art dealing in California in the middle nineteen thirties. Here he played an important part in introducing the newest developments in European art, and more particularly Surrealism, to this region. Between 1934 and 1936, at first the Paul Elder and later the Stanley Rose galleries, he gave the first shows in the region of Joan Miró, Salvador Dali, Max Ernst and Tanguy. In his own gallery in Los Angeles, in 1936 - 1937, he continued to show Surrealist inspired art, including Ernst, Paul Klee and Miró.[13] After his gallery closed in 1938, he travelled

to Paris (where he met Guggenheim), and returned to New York in 1940. Thereafter he played an active part in the art scene in the last city, helping to arrange a series of lectures and exhibitions on modern art, before becoming Peggy Guggenheim's gallery assistant in 1943.^[14] In contrast, Bertha Schaefer trained as an interior decorator and opened her own business in this context in 1929. In the nineteen thirties, owing to her opinion that there was a gulf between interior design and the fine arts, she began to hang contemporary paintings in her business premises on East Fifty Seventh Street, in the hope that she could interest her interior decoration clients in them.^[15]

Because the great majority of artists shown by this category of dealer would not have had any previous gallery exposure, and due to the fact that there was a relative paucity of large mixed group exhibitions in New York in the nineteen thirties and nineteen forties wherein young unknowns without gallery affiliations could get their works hung and possibly noticed by a dealer, the gatekeeper dealer of the nineteen forties had two main avenues open to him/her whereby he/she could discover new talents. One means was the dealer's social contacts, particularly with artists but possibly with critics or other interested art professionals, who might introduce him/her to the work of artists with whom the dealer was unfamiliar. The importance of the dealer's contacts with the milieu of the producers was stressed by Willard, who claims to have relied heavily on artists she knew to make suggestions as to possible inclusions in her gallery schedule.^[16] The second means whereby the early gatekeeper might come into contact with the work of new artists was if the artist brought it into the gallery him or herself. For some this became an important means of initial

selection: Parsons states that on the whole this was how she generally discovered new artists (if she was favourably impressed by what she saw she would subsequently visit the artist's studio). [17] For others it was subordinate to the afore-mentioned method of personal knowledge and recommendation - Willard says that she rarely took on an artist who came into her gallery to show her his/her work). [18] If the gatekeeping function of the dealer concerned an older yet perhaps neglected artist then he/she might depend upon artistic recommendation in the same way, or might be able to utilise a certain element of personal research. For instance, Schaefer in particular displayed a number of older American artists who had not had New York exhibitions for many years. [19]

In addition to the afore-mentioned, more casual, means of discovering the work of untried artists Guggenheim introduced a more formal way to discover new artists - her "Spring Salon(s) for Young Artists". In these, artists with a top age limit of 35 - 40 years were invited to submit work which was then selected for inclusion in the exhibition by a jury consisting of artists, critics and the gallery staff. [20] The first of these was held in 1943, and there were several similar shows over the next 4 years. Among those shown in the first Spring Salon were William Baziotes, Jimmy Ernst, Robert Motherwell, Jackson Pollock, Morris Graves, Matta, and Irene Rice Pereira. Most had not previously had any gallery exposure in New York. A few artists featured in all the Salons, leading to criticism from some quarters that they were not fulfilling their function of seeking for new talent. But an examination of the exhibition lists shows that they did in fact include a wide range of new names apart from the afore-

mentioned.[21]

On occasion, the emphasis which these dealers placed upon the producer had an important influence upon their selections; and the strength of their contacts with the world of the New York artists led to some dealer's artistic directions being strongly influenced by their artist-advisors. For instance, Parsons particularly credits the painter Barnett Newman (who may have introduced her to Jackson Pollock) with helping her with her gallery and its direction in its early years in the nineteen forties.[22] However, perhaps the most striking example of how the milieu in which a dealer moved could influence his/her whole direction was the case of Guggenheim. The stress on the exhibition schedule in "Art of this Century" could easily have been predominantly European, and more particularly Surrealist, if Guggenheim had not become personally estranged from the Surrealist group in New York following her split with Max Ernst in 1942 - 1943.[23] It was only subsequent to this development that she became increasingly involved with younger Americans artists. This was also in part the consequence of the increasing influence over the gallery's exhibition schedule exercised by Guggenheim's new gallery assistant, Putzel, who had a great enthusiasm for the new American artists. This enthusiasm of Putzel's dated back as far as 1940, when in a letter to the New York dealer Edith Halpert (of the Downtown Gallery) he had stated:

"Although I looked for new talent in Europe for about two years, at the expiration of half that time it seemed clear that for the past decade nothing really new was painted in Europe This continent will very likely be the new home of art." [24]

It was Putzel who, having become friendly with many of the new generation of American artists after his return from Paris in 1940, introduced Guggenheim to Pollock and Rothko and then persuaded her

to show their work. However, Guggenheim may well have met Motherwell and David Hare through their involvement with the Surrealist milieu in New York in the early nineteen forties, and the former may well have introduced her to Baziotos.[25]

The stress on social contacts and on the unknown talent characteristic of this category of dealer had the added effect that the artists shown by these galleries were predominantly American. Moreover, this also meant that most concentrated upon artists resident in New York. The only exception to this pattern was Willard. In the case of some of these dealers this situation was almost purely the result of circumstance (here one thinks of Guggenheim in particular), but in others this concentration was a more deliberately conscious decision. We have noted Putzel's enthusiasm for America as "very likely the new home of art" [26] and a similar determination to show only American art was shown by Charles Egan, who in the later nineteen forties and early nineteen fifties handled post-war American abstractionists such as Philip Guston, Franz Kline, Willem de Kooning and Jack Tworkov.[27] Parsons' exhibition schedule too was always dominated by Americans. However, Schaefer, although initially intending to concentrate upon native contemporary artists, in the late nineteen fifties took the decision that "art really was not national" [28] and began to show new art from other countries, particularly Britain. Conversely, although the majority of artists shown by Willard were American, she did show some European artists early in her career, in conjunction with the Buchholz Gallery.[29]

As this category of gallery was characteristically "run on a shoe-string" [30] there was a stress on exhibitions, for the dealer

did not have the resources to actively promote the artist via catalogues or extensive advertising. Indeed, none of these galleries produced any publications, and catalogues were restricted to little more than checklists with cover illustrations. The great majority of shows held at these galleries were solo shows, with the occasional group exhibition featuring gallery artists, often with the gallery having what was considered to be a rather hectic schedule. For instance, in the nineteen forties Parsons held an exhibition every 3 weeks, sometimes of more than one artist at a time, one in each room of her premises.^[31] Only rarely would a dealer of this type stage a thematic or didactic exhibition, especially those which attempted to create new markets for art or address critical problems. Two notable exceptions were: Schaefer's attempts to display modern art in relation to architecture and promote the inclusion of modern art works in new buildings in a series of exhibitions entitled "The Modern House Comes Alive"^[32] (an attempt which must surely reflect her background in interior design), and Putzel's 1945 exhibition "A Problem for Critics", in which he tried to stimulate an attempt to define and nominate the new currents in American abstract art.^[33]

The artist-orientation of this type of gallery meant that, on the whole, artists exhibited by these galleries were chosen as individuals with little apparent thought on the dealer's part on the construction of a gallery identity recognisable to the potential art public - other than that which might be inadvertently or necessarily imposed because of some personal bias on the dealer's part. Parsons gave the classic description of the ideal-typical approach of the gatekeeper-dealer when she insisted that

"Each of my painters is an individual.... I would never dream of imposing my will to create a group for the sake of

recognition or applause ... I believe in diversity rather than uniformity." [34]

The artists that Parsons exhibited over the years included a wide variety of stylistic approaches ranging from a number of the so-called Abstract Expressionists (Pollock, Hans Hofmann and Newman) to more realist painters such as Walter Murch and William Congdon.[35] A number of these had had solo shows in New York before joining her gallery, [36] but all were of untried reputation, although some were perhaps considered to be more controversial than others. It was her general practice not to show anyone more frequently than once in two years, as Parsons liked to keep the art shown on what she herself termed the "aesthetic plane".[37] The main exception to this practice was Pollock, shown annually from 1947 to 1951. Like Parsons, the variety of artists shown by Guggenheim was considerable. Often the artists selected for a solo show had previously been included in the annual 'salons' - Baziotes, Hare, Motherwell, I. Rice Pereira and Charles Seliger - sometimes, as in the case of the sculptor Isabella Waldberg, the artist appears to have been given a solo show before being included in a group one. [38] Willard, whose interest in Jungian psycho-analytic theory was apparently influential upon her preferences, has stressed that in her selection of artists she sought what she considered to be an "intimate vision" on the artist's part or a "subjective content". But these criteria were vague enough for her to show artists like Morris Graves, Loren MacIver, Richard Pousette-Dart, David Smith and Mark Tobey.[39]

One has to stress the importance of attitude in situating dealers within this particular category for one finds that, although the ideal focus of this category of dealer was the first exposure of as-yet unrecognised artists, in practice a number of artists

maintained relationships with the galleries under discussion over extended periods, even after they had achieved some critical and commercial success. This situation can be traced to the sale-on-consignment norm governing the artist-dealer relationship in New York, which meant that a dealer's financial investment in any artist did not have to be large; but the result of this was that many of even the 'gatekeeper' galleries gradually built up a nucleus of established artists despite their continuing commitment to the exposure of new talent. As it was the exception rather than the rule for a New York gallery to be willing to offer an artist any measure of guaranteed financial security (particularly in the nineteen forties) one finds that artists tended to stay with the galleries which first showed them, even if they were closer to the 'gatekeeper' type than any other, as long as personal relations between dealer and artist remained cordial. For instance, David Smith stayed with the the Willard Gallery for 19 years and Mark Tobey remained with the same gallery for over 20.[40]

An exception to this general rule was created by the Parsons' Gallery, which was unique within the context of the New York art market in its closeness to the 'ideal-type' of 'gatekeeper' gallery. Her gallery group was always both exceptionally large and fluid, with up to 18 artists at any one time. Those artists who stayed with her for many years form a small, and those who stayed after they had received critical recognition an even smaller, proportion of those associated with the gallery. The great majority of artists she exhibited stayed with the gallery for no more than a few years.[41] This appears to be the result of Parson's attitudes toward art dealing, attitudes which would seem to be conditioned by her own personal status as a practising artist. She refused to

limit the size of her gallery group in order to concentrate on any particular artists, or to lessen her emphasis upon the gallery as purely an exhibition venue. The most remarkable demonstration of this attitude came in 1951, when she rejected a proposal from the Abstract Expressionist artists then associated with her gallery (Pollock, Newman, Rothko and Clyfford Still) that she concentrate her energies on them, giving her reason as

"...I didn't want to do a thing like that. I told them, that with my nature, I like a bigger garden." [42]

Following this 3 of the 4 artists concerned drifted away from her gallery - as had Hofmann in 1947 - lured by the prospect of the greater resources, and the security which this might engender, offered by a 'promoter' dealer such as Sidney Janis.[43] The only other real echo of this situation is that which had occurred at "Art of this Century" in 1944 and 1945, when it had become obvious that Guggenheim intended to return to Europe after the end of the war, and first Motherwell and then Baziotes had joined the Samuel Kootz Gallery which was prepared to offer them financial security in much the same manner as that given Pollock by Guggenheim.[44]

The financial arrangements between the dealers in this category and their artists show a great variety, albeit basically within the norm of sale-on-consignment. Schaefer apparently never held any of her artists with written contracts, for she believed that a dealer could not "work with an artist if he's not satisfied with the way you're doing things", [45] and as far as one is able to judge handled all her artists on a straight commission basis. Willard was wont to deal with her artists on the standard 33 per cent commission basis, though one finds some variation as to whether an artist might be expected to pay exhibition expenses or not.[46] Moreover, she was willing to make cash advances in times of need to

enable the artist to continue working, with these set off against future sales. However, with reference to the fact that dealers of this category chose on occasion deliberately to take a rather non-commercial stance, instead of viewing these advances as falling within the context of her practice as a dealer Willard apparently regarded these loans as made on a personal level by one individual to another.^[47] It seems unlikely that Putzel, owing to the precariousness of his financial position during the time he ran his own gallery, was able to support the artists he represented so briefly.^[48] At Parsons', the artist, if offered an exhibition, would be asked to sign a contract of one or two year's duration, to ensure that the he/she would be solely represented by the gallery for at least 6 months, if not a year, after his/her show, to enable the gallery to reap the full benefit in terms of sales from any exhibition. Commission on works sold in the gallery was standardised at 33 1/3 per cent, with the gallery receiving 15 per cent on any studio sales. These contracts were only renewed if Parsons decided to give an artist a second, or subsequent, show. The artist was generally responsible for all, or most, exhibition expenses - the only two major exceptions to this practice were Pollock and Rothko, the former who does not appear to have paid any expenses at all while the latter paid only for shipping and photographs.^[49] Parsons did not apparently assist her artists with cash advances against future sales,^[50] presumably because of the relatively uncertain financial position of the gallery in its first decade (this was certainly the reason Parsons gave for refusing to take over or continue the contract arrangements which Guggenheim had had with Pollock between 1943 and 1947). A letter of November 1947, from Parsons to Pollock, suggests that she might not initially have intended to use contracts at all, for she asks him in

this letter to sign one "due to certain circumstances that happened in the gallery last year" (which would seem to be a reference to Hofmann's departure, in 1946, for the Kootz Gallery).[51]

At "Art of this Century" Guggenheim handled most artists on a consignment basis. However, she put one artist, Pollock, under contract (he was also the only one given more than one solo show) and supported him financially, so betraying her backgrounds as both collector and 'European'. She first offered him a contract in 1943, apparently on the urging of Putzel and James Johnson Sweeney, under the terms of which Pollock was paid \$150 per month, with a settlement of finances at the end of the year if sales amounted to more than \$2700. If they did not, then Pollock had to repay Guggenheim with paintings worth the amount outstanding.[52] In 1945, Guggenheim was persuaded by the collector M.N. Davis to raise the value of the stipend to \$300 per month, in return for which she received Pollock's entire annual production minus one painting.[53] From the time that the first contract was arranged in 1943, Pollock became the central focus for Guggenheim's efforts as a dealer in New York, [54] and she tended to neglect the other American artists she showed. Putzel apparently tried also to persuade Guggenheim to give a contract to Baziotes, whose work she admired and which had sold well after his first solo show, but she decided that she could only afford to have one artist under contract.[55]

The orientation towards the artist-producer grouping rather than toward the consumer-collector meant that there were strong bonds between the artists concerned and their dealers, for the latter were seen as comrades and not adversaries.[56] Instead of

being merely places where an artist brought his/her work to be merchandised, these galleries became places, like Egan's gallery,

"where, on winter afternoons, painters were likely to congregate for talk" [57]

or, as the artist Charles Seliger later described Putzel's gallery

"Saturdays at his gallery were like special meeting places. It seemed that all the artists at the time would come in for a cup of coffee or to sit around and talk with him. You never had a feeling ... that there wasn't time to do that." [58]

This sense of community was helped by the fact that at the time described above there was little demand for the kind of work in which the galleries mentioned dealt. However, this was helped by the mode of operation of these galleries: most of them were small and basically one-person operations, the dealers appear to have moved easily in artistic circles, they laid stress upon informality of operation. The result was that these dealers were often considered by the artists themselves to be

"..different from all other dealers of the time who were trying to make a living." [59]

Although one has emphasised the position which dealers of this type had within the New York art world as close to the producer as a contributory factor towards the 'cultural' bias of these galleries, there are another couple of interesting factors which come to light when one examines the backgrounds of the individual dealers in this category. Firstly, it is probably significant how many of this type of dealer were women, and, more particularly, women of independent means. In their seeming emphasis upon cultural rather than pecuniary goals, one can discern a continuation of what had until then been regarded as the traditional situation with regard to culture in United States life: a situation in which the man looks after the commercial world and the woman the cultural. A

consequence of their moneyed backgrounds, but also tied to their sex in an era when women would not be expected to make profitable successes out of their enterprise, was that the female dealers in this situation did not necessarily need to depend upon their gallery profits for their living expenses. This allowed them to be more adventurous in their choice of artists to exhibit and more willing to persevere with artists who continued to be commercially unsuccessful. The second factor brings one to the concern with public philanthropy which occupied the wealthiest strata of United States society, and the cachet which this 'élite' saw as derived from certain 'non-commercial' activities.

The most striking example of cultural bias is provided by "Art of this Century" which, although best remembered as an exhibition venue, was in fact conceived of as a vehicle to display the collection which Guggenheim had built up in Europe (and those works which she had added since), in fulfilment of the idea she had had in London before the war of founding a modern art museum. It was in this context that she commissioned architect/designer Frederick Kiesler to design a "theatrical" and "ultra-revolutionary" decor for her premises on West Fifty Seventh Street;^[60] and it was with an exhibition of this collection that "Art of this Century" opened, charging a 25¢ admission fee.^[61] Alongside this display of her own collection - the 'museum' - she did intend, however, that there would also be temporary exhibitions whereby she hoped "to sell paintings by Max (Ernst) and by young unknown artists".^[62] The endowing of private collections as museums in their own right or permanent installations within other institutions was not a new one, but with regard to Guggenheim in particular one must note that she had her idea of a modern art museum not long after her uncle Solomon

R. Guggenheim had set preparations in train for his 'Museum of Non-Objective Painting' (which opened in New York in 1939).

Three of the galleries/dealers discussed stand out as playing especially important roles as first-generation 'first-exposure' galleries. The importance of "Art of this Century's" as a gatekeeper rests on its exhibition schedule from 1943 to early 1945 (though the gallery remained open until late 1946) which included most of the post-war American abstractionists later to achieve acclaim (Baziotes, Hare, Hofmann, Motherwell, Pollock and Rothko). However, although the association of a socially prestigious name such as Guggenheim must have increased the publicity profile of her gallery and perhaps that of the art she presented, the extent to which one can attribute the responsibility for this record in the discovery of new talent to Guggenheim herself is, however, debatable. Although Clement Greenberg could describe her as having

"A flair for life, a sort of smell for life that made her recognise vitality and conviction in a picture" [63]

there was a marked decline in the standard of exhibitions shortly after Putzel left in mid-1944 to start his own gallery. It would appear that Putzel, with his passion for the new American artists, was a crucial influence on Guggenheim's own taste in this period (as had Herbert Read and Marcel Duchamp earlier in London and Paris in 1938 and 1939). Guggenheim's main claim to fame must be that she was willing to take "advice from none but the best", [64] and that she did this within the relatively uncharted waters of modern art. However, the record of Art of this Century must raise some doubts about Guggenheim's personal level of discrimination. It is difficult to evaluate fully Putzel's importance as a gatekeeper in the context of the New York market, for although his 'eye' for new

talent was undoubtedly acute and he played a crucial role in relation to Guggenheim his career was cut short by his early death, and one can only speculate as to what role he might have played had he lived.

The consistency of Parson's record and her continued identification, about as near to the ideal-typical type of gatekeeper as one comes within the context of the New York art market, gives her a unique status among American dealers. Her gallery was called, by Clement Greenberg " an artists' - and critics - gallery; a place where art goes on and [is] not just shown and sold." [65] However, this description must be seen as standing for the first-generation 'gatekeeper' type as a whole: it was the emphases upon individuality and 'cultural' goals, and the functional closeness of dealers to artists, which gave this category its special position within the structure of the New York art market.

NOTES

- 1 Betty Parsons: letter to Clyfford Still, 16/11/1953 - Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number N68-72.
- 2 Judy K. C. van Wagner: Women Shaping Art; p 30.
- 3 The total amount borrowed was \$4000, from 4 friends, to which she added \$1000 of her own money.
See Lawrence Alloway: "An American Gallery", unpublished typescript (no date) - Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 4 For biographical information on:
Willard - see Marian Willard: Paul Cummings interview, 3/6/1969, Archives of American Art.
Parsons - see Calvin Tomkins: "Profile - A Keeper of the Treasure" - New Yorker: 9/6/1975, p 45 ff.
Guggenheim - see Peggy Guggenheim: Out of this Century - Confessions of an Art Addict (autobiography); John H. Davis: The Guggenheims - An American Epic; pp 232 - 242, 308 - 348, 411 - 436. Melvin P. Lader: "Peggy Guggenheim's Art of this Century - The Surrealist Milieu and the American Avant Garde" (unpublished Phd thesis, University of Delaware, 1981).
Putzel - see Lader: ibid, pp 145 - 180; Hermine Benheim Freed: "Howard Putzel and the Beginnings of Abstract Expressionism" (unpublished M. A. thesis, New York University, 1968). Typescript and pertinent documentation is held by the Archives of American Art, Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection.
- 5 Willard: Cummings: op cit.
- 6 New York World Telegram: April 1937 - Clipping in Willard Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number N/69 - 114.
- 7 Willard: Cummings: op cit.
- 8 For the detailed history of her London gallery, and her early involvement with contemporary visual artists see Guggenheim: op cit; pp 159 - 206.
- 9 Guggenheim: op cit; p 196. In itself, this remark gives an interesting indication of the paramount importance to her of a kind of cultural respectability over earning a living. Aline Saarinen in "The Proud Possessors" made some interesting speculations about the importance for rich Jewish families of the cultural respectability and equality with their 'WASP' contemporaries which could be derived from patronage of the arts.
- 10 Guggenheim: op cit; p 166.
- 11 Guggenheim: ibid; pp 207 - 250.
Jimmy Ernst: A Not So Still Life; pp 198 - 208.
- 12 Tomkins: op cit; pp 48 - 51.
Betty Parsons: Paul Cummings, interview, 4/6/1969 - Archives of American Art.
- 13 Lader: op cit; pp 147 - 154.
- 14 Lader: ibid: pp 157 - 161, and Freed: op cit.
- 15 Bertha Schaefer: Paul Cummings interview, 20/4/1970, Archives of American Art.
- 16 Willard: Cummings: op cit.
- 17 Parsons: Cummings: op cit.
- 18 Willard: Cummings: op cit.
- 19 Among those she exhibited were Balcomb Greene, Alfred Maurer, Marsden Hartley, Morris Kantor and Charles Shaw.
- 20 The idea behind these salons had in fact been Herbert Read's,

though it had not been tried out at the "Guggenheim Jeune". There is some confusion as to the composition of the juries. The panel of jurors for the first salon was Marcel Duchamp, Peggy Guggenheim, Piet Mondrian, Putzel, James Thrall Soby and James Johnson Sweeney. Lader: *ibid*; p 210. In Guggenheim: *ibid*; p 284, she also includes Barr as a juror of the first Salon. Ernst: *ibid*; p 241, remembers Max Ernst as a juror at the first Salon.

The jury for the second Salon included Kenneth McPherson and Alfred H. Barr in place of Mondrian. Lader: *ibid*; p 243.

"Peggy Guggenheim Opens Art Show" - New York Times: 10/5/1944; p 4. Cutting in Peggy Guggenheim Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number Itve 1.

- 21 See Lader: *op cit*; pp 243 - 244, for details of this criticism. For a complete list of artists included see Lader: *ibid*; Appendix. He has compiled as complete information as possible on all exhibitions held at "Art of this Century". See also Peggy Guggenheim Papers (gallery scrapbooks), Archives of American Art; Microfilm Rolls Number Itve 1 & 2.
- 22 Tomkins: *op cit*; p 52. Parsons: Cummings: *op cit*. In this interview Parsons stresses how important a part in the success of her gallery that she felt the good opinions of artists had played.
- 23 For the full story of this split see Guggenheim: *op cit*; pp 230 - 286.
- 24 Howard Putzel: letter to Edith G. Halpert, 24/7/1940 - Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 25 Lader: *op cit*; pp 166 - 168.
- 26 Howard Putzel, letter to Edith G. Halpert: *op cit*.
- 27 Kenneth Sawyer: "Evergreen Gallery (The Importance of a Wall: Galleries)" - Evergreen Review: 8/8/59; p 128.
- 28 Bertha Schaefer: Paul Cummings, interview, 20/4/1970 - Archives of American Art.
- 29 For Parsons Gallery exhibition schedule see: Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number N65-62 to N65-74.
- 30 Marian Willard: letter to Lee Gatch, 5/8/1949 - Lee Gatch Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D160.
- 31 Alloway: *op cit* (typescript), n d. Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 32 For reviews of these exhibitions see: "The Modern House" - Art Digest: 1/10/48; p 19. "Case of Ambidexterity: Bertha Schaefer" - Interiors: April 1957; pp 96 - 98, 179.
- 33 New York Times: 1/7/1945: II; p 2.
- 34 Parsons: in interview on radio station W.N.Y.C., 31/10/1952 - Quoted in Alloway: *op cit*; p 9.
- 35 By 1948 the gallery also represented Herbert Ferber, Pietro Lazaro, Seymour Lipton, Boris Margo, Richard Pousette-Dart, Day Schnabel and John Stephan. See 1946 press announcement, quoted in Alloway: *ibid*. By 1951 the roster included William Congdon, Calvin Coggeshal, Maud Morgan, Anne Ryan, Sonia Sekula and Bradley Walker Tomlin. Artists who had first solo shows at the Parsons Gallery in the 1950s include Lee Krasner and Robert Rauschenberg in 1951, Kenzo Okada in 1953, Richard Lindner in 1954, Ellsworth Kelly in 1956 and Jack Youngerman in 1958.
- 36 Parsons had previously shown Alfonso Ossorio, Theodoros Stamos, Saul Steinberg and Hedda Sterne at the Wakefield; and Hans Hofmann, Ad Reinhardt and Mark Rothko at Mortimer Brandt; while Hofmann, Rothko and Clyfford Still had exhibited at "Art of this Century".

- 37 Betty Parsons, letter to Forest Bess, no date (1958) - Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number N65-62.
- 38 Willard: Cummings: op cit.
Stuart Preston, in 1962, described her taste as for "complex, poetic semi-abstract works esoteric tend[ing] to be slightly inhuman" - Stuart Preston: "Art: A Gallery's Review" - New York Times: 6/1/1962; p 41.
- 39 For details of the exhibition schedule see Lader: op cit; Appendix.
- 40 Willard met Mark Tobey and Morris Graves for the first time in 1939 on the West Coast, and gave the latter his first exhibition in 1942 (the same year as both Graves and Tobey were shown in the Museum of Modern Art's "Americans 1942"), the former his in 1944. David Smith had his first exhibition at the Willard in 1940, but had previously exhibited at the A.C.A. Gallery in 1932, and had been shown by Willard at the East River Gallery in 1936.
- 41 For details of Parsons relationships with gallery artists see the individual artist files in: Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls number N68 - 62 to N68 - 74.
- 42 Parsons, quoted in Tomkins: op cit; p 54.
- 43 Betty Parsons, draft letter to Hans Hofmann, no date:
"I am shocked at the news that you have gone to Kootz without giving me the slightest warning Before you sign a contract with Kootz I feel there are some things we should discuss. Please come and see me as soon as possible this is only fair to me".
and Betty Parsons, letter to Wright Ludington, 3/10/1947:
"I have had a bad shock to find that I could no longer hold Hans Hofmann. Sam Kootz, the crocodile, has grabbed him as I was not financially able to hold him..."
Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm roll number N68-65.
There are several indications among the correspondence included in the artist files as to their dissatisfaction with her emphasis on artistic integrity at the expense of sales. Among these is Hans Hofmann, letter to Parsons, 27/11/47:
"My work must be strongly promoted to avoid its later destruction ...I could not help to feel uneasy that your effort brought not the success which I wanted.." - Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number N68 - 65.
See also the Clyfford Still and Jackson Pollock files (the latter is unfiled).
- 44 Motherwell wrote to Baziotes (undated letter, Sunday, ?1945)
"...I told a man about you who might give you a contract if you want it I spoke to Peggy about it, and she talks as if she is going to give up her gallery after this season, and if it is up to us to fend for ourselves." - William Baziotes Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number N70/21.
- 45 Schaefer: Cummings: op cit.
- 46 For example, David Smith apparently paid such expenses during the early 1940s, but by the early 1950s was not expected to do so. Willard Gallery Papers, Correspondence file on David Smith, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 986.
- 47 Willard: Cummings: op cit.
- 48 The gallery was financed by Kenneth McPherson, a friend of Guggenheim's and a collector, who withdrew his support in the summer of 1945, a few months before Putzel's death. Freed: op cit. See also Howard Putzel, letter to Arturo Salemme: quoted in

- Lader: op cit; p 179.
- 49 Van Wagner: op cit; p 63 notes that Parsons gave \$400 in cash to artists having a show which they were free to spend as they chose, rather than concentrating upon advertising and mailing (unfortunately she does not specify the dates of this practice, and there was nothing in the gallery records held by the Archives of American to confirm this).
 - 50 For contract arrangements with individual artists, including Rothko, see artist files in Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number N68-62 to N68-74; and for Pollock see Pollock file in Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 51 Betty Parsons: letter to Jackson Pollock, 25/11/1947 - Betty Parsons Gallery papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 52 Guggenheim: op cit; p 315.
In 1944 Pollock estimated that he had to sell about 4 paintings a year in order to get his money above \$150 per month. Jackson Pollock, letter to Charles Pollock, n d. Quoted in Francis V. O'Connor and Eugene Thaw: Jackson Pollock: A Catalogue Raisonné, Vol 4, p 233.
 - 53 Guggenheim: op cit; p 316.
This contract continued until February 1948, after "Art of this Century" had closed down. It was work produced under this arrangement which made up Pollock's first show at the Parsons Gallery in 1947. For correspondence between Guggenheim and Parsons about the details of this arrangement see the Pollock file in: Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 54 Guggenheim: op cit; p 315.
 - 55 Lader: op cit; p 260 quotes a letter from Putzel to Baziotes which suggests that "Art of this Century" might handle his work; and also suggests that Guggenheim followed the course of giving Pollock a contract on the advice of persons such as James Johnson Sweeney, despite the fact that her personal preference was for Baziotes' work. Information derived from an interview with Peggy Guggenheim by Lader, 3/4 - 4/4/1978, and cited by him: *ibid*; p 296.
 - 56 Buffie Johnson about Putzel: quoted in Freed: op cit.
 - 57 Sawyer: op cit; p 128.
 - 58 Charles Seliger: Paul Cummings, interview, 8/5/1968 - Archives of American Art.
 - 59 Theodoros Stamos about Putzel: quoted in Freed: op cit.
 - 60 Guggenheim: op cit; p 274.
This idea was apparently suggested to her by Putzel - Lader; op cit; p 96.
For a detailed description of the decorative scheme see Cynthia Goodman: "Frederick Kiesler: Designs for Peggy Guggenheim's Art of this Century Gallery" - Arts: 51: 10; pp 90 - 95.
 - 61 "Inheritors of Chaos" - Time: 2/11/1942; p 47.
In 1939, just prior to the fall of Paris this collection this collection ranged from Kandinsky, through Braque, Futurism and De Stijl to Miro, Ernst and Giacometti. For a full list see Guggenheim: op cit; p 219.
To coincide with the gallery's opening a catalogue was published - "Art of this Century", which included selections from the collection, accompanied by artist's statements. An idea of the scope of the collection in 1942, and its development from 1942 - 1947, can be got from the inventories attached to the gallery accounts each year. Photocopies of these are in: the Bernard Reis Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled; and the archives

- of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.
- 62 Guggenheim: op cit; p 277.
- 63 Clement Greenberg, quoted in Aline B. Saarinen: The Proud Possessors; p 337.
- 64 Guggenheim, quoted in Lader: op cit; p 331.
- 65 Quote from catalogue foreword by Clement Greenberg to the catalogue for the exhibition "10 Years", Betty Parsons Gallery, 19/12/1956 - 14/1/1957.

CHAPTER 8: SECOND GENERATION GATEKEEPERS AND FIRST EXPOSURE GALLERIES OF THE 1950s - THE CHARLES ALAN GALLERY, GRACE BORGENICHT GALLERY, MARTHA JACKSON GALLERY, ELEONOR POINDEXTER GALLERY, STABLE GALLERY (ELEANOR WARD), TIBOR DE NAGY GALLERY AND VIRGINIA ZABRISKIE GALLERY.

In functional terms the galleries in this group occupied a position within the structure of the New York art market analogous to that occupied by those 'gatekeepers' discussed with reference to the nineteen forties - for they too concentrated their efforts on new and as-yet unrecognised artists, they also were characterised by the small-scale and informality of operation; and in them one finds the same emphasis upon 'cultural' goals rather than commercial rewards similar to that discernible in the earlier generation. The focus of activities of this category of dealer was their own (younger) generation of artists, the so-called 'second generation' of the 'New York School' - either the 'followers' of Abstract Expressionism, or those seeking in the middle nineteen fifties for some means of expression different to this style - the artists then newly appearing on the art market. However, despite the apparently rising prices among some of the post-war artists who had received their initial exposure in the previous decade, in the early nineteen fifties there was still a paucity of outlets willing to deal in untried art and artists, and it was this lacuna which the 'second-generation' gatekeepers aimed to fill. As Grace Borgenicht, one of the new dealers, stated

"there were practically no galleries at the time who sponsored just American art because it was not popular....But I decided that this was what interested me and This was a great dream of mine - to make American art respected and to allow the artist to make a living." [1]

Although the galleries cited all came into being only in the nineteen fifties, all the dealers concerned had had some contact with the New York art world during the previous decade - several had

trained and/or practiced as artists; a couple had been collectors of modern art; while 3 had been involved with other galleries, if only briefly, before they opened their own. Grace Borgenicht, who opened her own gallery on Fifty-Seventh Street in 1950, had originally trained as an artist and art educator in New York and Paris, and became involved with the gallery business after her first solo show at the Laurel Gallery in 1947. From 1948 - 1950, she helped Chris Ritter to run this gallery, which had opened in 1946 and exhibited a mixture of older generation and young American artists including Walter Pach, Milton Avery and Jimmy Ernst. She retired from the Laurel Gallery in 1950 because of family commitments, but was persuaded to return to art dealing by the artist Jimmy Ernst after this gallery went out of business the same year; and opened her own premises on East Fifty-Seventh Street in 1951.^[2] Eleanor Poindexter, who opened a gallery on West Fifty Sixth Street in 1955, had worked for Carl Zigrosser at the Wehye Gallery (which specialised in prints) in the nineteen thirties before retiring to bring up a family, and later assisted Charles Egan at his gallery from 1953 - 1955.^[3] Charles Alan, when he opened his gallery on East Sixty-Fifth street in 1953, had worked at the Downtown Gallery for 8 years; and the formation of his own gallery was a direct result of a decision by Edith Halpert, of the Downtown Gallery, to concentrate her efforts on those of her older, more established artists with whom she had been associated since the nineteen twenties and nineteen thirties. The circumstances of the split meant that Alan took the responsibility for the group of younger artists which the Downtown Gallery had handled since the nineteen forties.^[4] Before Tibor de Nagy and Bernard Myers founded the Tibor de Nagy Gallery on Fifty-Third Street in 1951 the two men had had a long involvement with the arts. Though de

Nagy's background was in banking, he had been an active collector in his native Hungary before the Second World War, [5] while in the nineteen forties Myers had been involved with the Surrealist group in New York, although in a literary capacity.[6] After a period in which they had been interested in the idea of opening a gallery, they were able to open the Tibor de Nagy Gallery after its rent was guaranteed for 6 years by an artist-collector, Dwight Ripley.[7]

Although the scale of operations of these galleries was characteristically modest, as with the 'first-generation' of 'gatekeeper' dealers of the nineteen forties access to private means - which meant that the dealer did not necessarily have to depend entirely upon the income they made from sales to finance their operations - was a significant factor among the dealers who can be discussed in the context of 'second-generation' gatekeepers. This relative independence meant that these dealers were able to stress their 'cultural' goals more than would otherwise have been possible: allowing them to take more risks in their artistic direction, and to handle artists in whose promise of critical status they believed but whose short or even medium-term commercial potential was debatable. In this context, Martha Jackson, who opened her gallery on East Sixty Sixth Street in 1953, came from a wealthy family in upstate New York.[8] She had become involved in collecting contemporary American art in the late nineteen forties, and this in turn gave rise to an intention to start a gallery because, with the rise in prices of Abstract Expressionist work in the nineteen fifties, she found it increasingly difficult to buy the work she wanted. Being a dealer seemed to be the solution as it offered a way of living with the art she admired,[9] although she apparently needed on occasion to sell works from her own personal

collection to provide funds for her gallery.[10]

Although Jackson was in the position of having private means, one finds that another factor in this category of dealers is that a number were married women at a time when these were not necessarily expected to be wage earners, thus giving them more leeway in the artistic path they might choose to follow. In this category one can number not only Grace Borgenicht (who opened her gallery with financial help from her manufacturer husband) - who stated that

"... I felt that I didn't open a gallery to make money...I fortunately didn't need to earn a living from the gallery ... my objective was to do something for the American artist..." [11]

- and Eleanor Poindexter; [12] but also Virginia Zabriskie who went into business in 1954 when she bought out the Korman Gallery on Madison Avenue from a fellow student at the New York Institute of Arts, a move which she herself considered made possible only by her married status.[13]

The keynote concerning these dealers' artistic choices and their gallery groups was definitely artistic individuality. Characteristic expressions of the aims of such dealers are provided in the following statements by Borgenicht, who claimed to want to

"...present .. to the public the paintings, sculpture and graphic work which I myself would want to own my choice of artists has been based on purely personal criteria..."[14]

and Poindexter, who stated that

"What my gallery is about is an interest in art and what's going on that I personally can have my heart in ..."
[15]

Zabriskie felt that this stress on individual expression was the result of her being introduced to contemporary art through Abstract Expressionism, although by the time that she herself became an

art dealer the situation was such that it was better for her to become involved with the next generation of artists.[16]

The bias toward diversity shown by these dealers reflects the ever-expanding variety of the work produced by contemporary American artists as the number of these grew exponentially because of the greatly expanded art-educational and cultural opportunities of the post-war years and knowledge of developments in art (both past and present, local and foreign) increased steadily among the younger American artist, and there were increasing pressures upon younger artists to make themselves noticeable among the crowd. In addition, although the earlier generation of dealers had effectively been restricted to American artists by their dependence upon social contact as a means of selection, the greater degree of international exchange of information in the modern art market in the nineteen fifties meant that there was a greater openness among the 'gatekeeper' of the nineteen fifties to the presentation of new artists from other countries.

Of these dealers, Poindexter at first concentrated upon artists who worked within an Abstract Expressionist mode, and her stable included a number of artists such as Milton Resnick who had been with the Charles Egan Gallery. But with time she felt that this style was becoming weakened and she gradually "went by what I thought was good", whatever the style.[17] Initially Borgenicht presented a number of artists, including Jimmy Ernst, who had originally been associated with the Laurel Gallery and had later joined up with Borgenicht. Within her gallery group she maintained a relatively stable nucleus of artists (about one-third of the total) - such as Leonard Baskin, Ilya Bolotowsky, Paul Burlin and José de

Rivera - whom she showed when they were unknowns but remained with the gallery for many years, alongside her main activity of presenting new artists in their first solo shows.^[18] The breadth of Zabriskie's activities grew as the nineteen fifties progressed. Her original stable included a number of mature as well as young contemporary artists of as-yet unestablished reputation such as Jan Muller, Pat Adams, Lester Johnson and Robert De Niro. However, later on in the nineteen fifties she also became very interested in re-introduction and re-assessment as well as introduction, and began to show "first-generation" American modernists, such as Joseph Stella and Abraham Walkowitz, in group and solo shows.^[19] Myers saw his role as that of a catalyst whose function was to bring the work of artists with "energy" and "sock" to the attention of the public.^[20] In selecting what artists to show at the Tibor de Nagy the 2 dealers apparently worked in tandem, both making the studio visits necessary to make this selection, either separately or together. Among Tibor de Nagy Gallery members in the nineteen fifties were Larry Rivers, Kenneth Noland, Grace Hartigan, Fairfield Porter and Helen Frankenthaler.^[21]

The openness to contact with the artist, and the importance of social contact as a means of discovery of talent, would appear to be as significant a factor among the second-generation of gatekeeper dealers as those of the nineteen forties. But there was one significant difference. Where the dealers of the previous decade had almost entirely associated with, and in some cases relied upon, artists who were of the same effective generation as themselves, in the nineteen fifties one discovers that the dealers' artist-mentors often belonged to the 'first-generation' of American post-war artists. For instance, both the dealers behind the Tibor de Nagy

and the Stable Galleries appear to have been on friendly social terms with a number of the 'first-generation' Abstract Expressionists, and these artists either encouraged the foundation of these galleries [22] or themselves became involved in some gallery activities.

The most significant example of the 'first-generation' Abstract-Expressionist artists playing a part in the career a gallery in the nineteen fifties was the Stable Gallery, which Ward started on Seventh Avenue in 1953, [23] and which is possibly best remembered for its annual new talent exhibitions. The idea for these apparently came, not from Ward herself, but from a group of artists (among them Willem de Kooning, Franz Kline and Jackson Pollock) who felt that such an exhibition would "revitalise the [New York art] scene".[24] Participants in these Annuals were selected by a panel of artists rather than Ward herself - a situation unique within the New York gallery context. For instance, the Spring Salons held at Art of the Century had been selected by a jury of artists, experts and Guggenheim herself.[25] These Stable Annuals can be seen rather as a continuation of the 1951 "Ninth Street Show", organised by the then-collector Leo Castelli and the same artists as a forum for their work and that of younger up-and-coming American artists. The Stable Annuals included both critically established names who already had dealers and many new names who had not shown previously, and were considered to be an important occasion for new talent to compare itself directly with the more mature.[26] The contacts with which the first Annual provided Ward appear to have been important in introducing her to contemporary artists in New York, and it was apparently this which led her to make extensive studio visits for the first time. Subsequently such

visits were the main channel used by Ward to select artists for exhibitions in her gallery. Among those she showed were James Brooks, Conrad Marca-Relli, Joan Mitchell and Jack Tworckov.[27]

Although Eleanor Ward had intended to concentrate on both American and European artists (indeed, one of her first shows was of Georges Mathieu and she also presented Alberto Burri in her early years) she increasingly began to specialise in American because she claimed that she rarely found any artists in Europe who measured up to the Americans she showed.[28] Jackson, however, followed the opposite trajectory, for she originally intended to show a range of American painting, including early twentieth century work because "I knew mainly about American painting", [29] but gradually abandoned this approach as she became more interested in European art and the work of avant-garde artists working there. Her gallery was associated with 'second-generation' American artists (such as Alfred Leslie, Joan Mitchell and Grace Hartigan) and with American artists working in Paris, for example Sam Francis and Paul Jenkins. Her presentation of the latter came via her involvement in the introduction of the work of European artists to New York - among them Karel Appel, Barbara Hepworth, Germaine Richier, William Scott and Antonio Tapies [30] - which led her to make regular visits to Europe and, in particular, Paris. In her search for artists to exhibit, either European or Americans working in Paris, she was helped by the French critic Michel Tapié, who introduced her to Sam Francis among others.[31]

The Alan Gallery's group of 15 artists can be described as stylistically rather more conservative than those handled by most other galleries in this category and included Jack Levine,

Rueben Tam and Karl Zerbe. The majority of these had previously been with the Downtown Gallery for some years, but most (although certainly not Levine) were still considered to be as-yet unestablished talents, even by the time the Alan Gallery opened in 1953. Alan did hope, however, that he would be able to add more names which fulfilled his personal criteria [32] to this core group, and so

"develop a gallery with its own character and reflecting my taste and personality." [33]

Alongside his original core group Alan exhibited 4 or 5 unknown artists each season who had been selected either from work brought in to him at his gallery or from those exhibiting at one of the artist-run co-operative galleries on Tenth Street. However, he did not add many artists to the original core gallery group (only 5 had been added by 1957). [34]

Within this group of dealers, although the great majority practiced within the New York norm of sale on consignment, two were significant for their attempts to work out some alternative financial arrangements with their artists. Among those dealers who did sell on a consignment basis one sees an emphasis on the belief, as Borgenicht phrased it, that the relationship between artist and dealer "has to be mutually agreeable", and that no written contracts were necessary, or even desirable. However, if an artist needed money, she might purchase a painting. [35] At the Tibor De Nagy Gallery it was felt, too, that a contract could only be valid as long as the artist honoured it, and that nothing could hold an artist if he/she wished to leave. [36] Only if any artist specifically requested a contract would he/she be given one. However, this gallery did regularly utilise a preliminary exchange of letters with new artists to set out terms and conditions.

Despite the gallery's often straitened financial position De Nagy placed great stress on the gallery's honouring its obligations to its artists and paying the artist promptly what was owed him/her, and so insisted that the gallery always remained in credit. Zabriskie, too, utilised formal letters setting out terms and conditions as contracts. Although these terms were based on the commission norm, she might purchase the occasional work from an artist if they were in financial need.^[37] Ward, at the Stable Gallery, did not apparently have contracts with the artists she exhibited but was content to sell their work on a straight commission basis, 33 1/3 per cent on gallery sales and 20 per cent for studio sales. Unusually for a gallery of this type she did, however, pay most exhibition expenses - advertising, a simple catalogue, mailing and photographs - and asked instead for a gift of one work of the artist's choice from his/her show to recompense her for such expenditures. ^[38]

The two dealers who attempted to introduce some alternatives to the consignment norm were Martha Jackson and Charles Alan. The former attempted to set up a framework "just between the American system and the French system", ^[39] whereby the artist was given rather more direct financial support than was usual for a first-exposure gallery, which she hoped would aid an artist's development over an extended period. In 1957 Alan, like Jackson, decided to try and experiment with an alternative to dealing on a commission basis, as part of his efforts to

"let the artist alone as much as possible, to relieve him of all business problems, to leave him free to work." ^[40]

Indeed, Jackson too appears to have felt that some reform of the then current system of commission sales might be a good thing for the contemporary artist, for she saw her efforts as an attempt to

"bring some concepts into art dealing and to use this gallery as an example of how art dealing should be carried on in the best way." [41]

Contracts between Jackson and her artists, as a rule, took one of two forms. With many of her European artists she would agree, in advance, to buy a minimum number of works during the contract period, the price of each work being calculated on the point system.[42] Work bought under these terms was selected either by Jackson herself on visits to Europe, or by Michel Tapié. The second arrangement was for her to pay the artist an agreed sum each year of the contract period, generally in the form of a monthly stipend. In return for this she was allowed to buy works at 50 per cent of their agreed retail price, up to the total amount advanced, or took a 50 per cent commission on sales up to that same total. Works over and above this were considered to be the artist's own property, and were sold on 33 1/3 per cent commission. The artist was generally responsible for half of all expenses. In return for a contract Jackson demanded exclusivity as the outlet for the artist's work in the United States. Karel Appel and Alberto Burri were handled under the former arrangement, and Sam Francis and William Scott under the latter.[43]

Alan introduced an arrangement with some of his gallery group (6 artists in all) [44] whereby he guaranteed to buy a minimum of 10 works per annum from each artist at a pre-arranged price (either \$50 or \$100) per work. When the work was finally sold the artist received 50 per cent of the sale price, minus the sum already paid. Under this arrangement the gallery agreed to pay all incidental expenses. Indeed, the Alan Gallery is unusual, in the context of first-exposure galleries, in that it always tried to avoid deducting expenses from the artist when selling on a straight (35 per cent)

commission.[45] The experiment in gallery purchase was not, however, entirely popular with all of the Alan Gallery artists (Julian Levi and Karl Zerbe left the gallery when offered this arrangement). Indeed Alan abandoned it after a couple of years because he found that the annual production of most of his artists' was so low that he was forced to buy it all, rather than being able to select 10 pieces which he liked and felt confident of selling - a situation which he felt had resulted in a lowering in quality of the gallery's stock. In addition, he found that the agreed sales tied up most of the gallery's cash flow, which prevented from buying individual works from other artists not party to the agreements to widen and diversify the gallery stock, as had been his original intention. Alan attributed the failure of his experiment to the monopolistic conditions of the American dealer system, which precluded dealers from trading among themselves, and also to what he considered to be the generally low productivity of American artists.[46]

One has noted that the dealers of this category occupied a similar position within the totality of the New York art market to that of their counterparts of the preceding decade. At the time the dealers cited started they were in the main as much pioneers as their predecessors, because of the paucity of such outlets for contemporary production and the risks associated with such ventures. It took a good deal of commitment to the new in art for a dealer to decide to attempt, as Jackson wished at the time she began her gallery:

"to be an influence on art in this country ... to prove that you could take younger artists and have it work out for the gallery." [47]

However, with regard to the Alan Gallery one has mentioned one

factor, the fact that he took on or presented artists who had already shown at the artist-controlled co-operative galleries of the Tenth Street area, which suggests that the dealers discussed in this chapter, who were after all all 'uptown' establishments, were not perhaps quite as close to the artist grouping in operational terms as their predecessors had been, particularly as the decade wore on. This development of effectively greater distance from the producer-set among the dealers cited must be a factor of the ever-broadening scale of the New York art world, and the pressures created by the increasing numbers of artists not just in this city but nationally and internationally. These forces meant that these dealers were not able to rely as much as the earlier generation upon personal contacts. Instead they had to utilise pre-screening - as provided by the more informal gallery operations run by artists themselves, upon the juried or non-juried mass group exhibitions held by museums or other art organisations, or even the more adventurous galleries of other art centres - in what amounted to a modified version of the practice of promoter-dealers.

NOTES

- 1 Grace Borgenicht: Dorothy Seckler interview, 10/1/1963. Archives of American Art.
Tibor de Nagy: Paul Cummings interview, 29/3/76. Archives of American Art.
- 2 Borgenicht: Seckler: *ibid*.
Judy K. C. van Wagner: Women Shaping Art; pp 82 - 84.
- 3 Eleanor Poindexter: Paul Cummings interview, 9/9/1970. Archives of American Art.
- 4 Charles Alan: Paul Cummings interview, 20/8/1970. Archives of American Art.
For details of the terms of this split see: Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled; and Charles Alan Gallery Papers, correspondence to collectors (September 1953), Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1381.
- 5 De Nagy: Cummings: *op cit*.
- 6 John Bernard Myers: Tracking the Marvelous (A Life in the New York Art World); pp 11 - 107.
Ripley had been a collector of Surrealist art in New York from the early nineteen forties onwards, and in the early decade had been a customer of Peggy Guggenheim's.
- 7 De Nagy: Cummings: *op cit*.
- 8 She was a member of the Kellogg Chemical Corp. family of Buffalo, New York State.
- 9 Martha Jackson: Paul Cummings interview, 23/5/69, Archives of American Art.
- 10 Catalogue foreword: "The Private Collection of Martha Jackson", exh. cat., University of Maryland Museum of Art, 22/6 - 30/9/1973.
- 11 Borgenicht: Seckler: *op cit*.
- 12 Poindexter: Cummings: *op cit*.
- 13 Terry Trucco: "Virginia Zabriskie: A dollar, A dream and a passion for art" - Art News: LXXVIII (1979): 2; p 62.
The cost of her premises was apparently only \$1, and she was able to use a \$1,000 inheritance to help defray her early expenses - Van Wagner: *op cit*; pp 90 - 91.
- 14 Borgenicht: Seckler: *op cit*.
- 15 Poindexter: Cummings: *op cit*.
- 16 Virginia Zabriskie, quoted in "Introduction to New York Galleries" - Arts: April 1974; p 35.
Trucco: *op cit*; p 63.
- 17 Poindexter: Cummings: *op cit*.
- 18 Borgenicht: Seckler: *op cit*.
Arts: April 1974; p 24.
- 19 Arts: April 1974; p 35.
- 20 Quoted in "The Cultural Innovators" - Fortune: February 1960; p 211.
- 21 De Nagy: Cummings: *op cit*.
Myers: *op cit*; pp 133 - 178.
- 22 Tibor de Nagy: Cummings: *op cit*.
Ward: Cummings: *op cit*.
- 23 Les Levine: "The Golden Years - A Portrait of Eleanor Ward" - Arts: 48: 7; pp 42, 43.
- 24 Ward: Cummings: *op cit*.
- 25 Re Chapter 7.
- 26 See Stable Annual Catalogues, 1953 and 1954.
- 27 Ward: Cummings: *op cit*.
For an idea of some of the artists who were associated with the gallery see the Stable Gallery Papers (though these are

- not complete), Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 28 Ward: Cummings: *ibid*.
Ward's advisor initially was collector Alexander Iolas, who later opened his own gallery.
 - 29 Jackson: Cummings: *op cit*.
 - 30 For a complete list of artists handled by the gallery see: Martha Jackson Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D246.
 - 31 Jackson: Cummings: *op cit*.
Tapié acted as an adviser to the Parisian Gallery Rive Droite (owned by Jean Larcade) which handled Appel, Francis and Riopelle in Paris.
 - 32 Charles Alan, letter to Oliver Andrews, 20/9/54. Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1379.
 - 33 Charles Alan: letter to unnamed collector, 17/9/53. Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1382.
For details of what artists the gallery handled see: Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number 1379 - 1391.
 - 34 Alan: Cummings: *op cit*.
 - 35 Quoted in *Arts*: April 1974; p 24. Van Wagner: *ibid*; p 84.
 - 36 De Nagy: Cummings: *op cit*.
 - 37 Van Wagner: *op cit*; p 91.
 - 38 Eleanor Ward, letter to Fritz Bultman, 17/10/1957. Stable Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 39 Jackson: Cummings: *op cit*.
 - 40 Charles Alan, letter to Oliver Andrews, 20/9/1954. Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1379.
 - 41 Jackson: Cummings: *op cit*.
 - 42 This is a system whereby canvasses are designated by size and shape as certain 'numeros' e.g. Numero 25 is 81 x 65 cm (Figure) or 81 x 60 cm (landscape). If an artist is to be paid a specified amount per 'point', then this is multiplied by the 'numeros' of the canvas size to arrive at the amount the artist is to be paid e.g. 25 x Fr y(point).
 - 43 For full details as to specific artists financial arrangements see: Martha Jackson Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D246.
 - 44 The artists were Oliver Adams, Carroll Cloar, Robert D'Arista, Robert Knipschild, Charles Oscar and Rueben Tam.
 - 45 For details of the individual arrangements with each artist see the artist files in: Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number 1379 - 1382.
 - 46 Charles Alan, letter to Nathan Oliviera, Thanksgiving Day (no date). Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1381.
 - 47 Jackson: Cummings: *op cit*.

CHAPTER 9: NON-COMMERCIAL 'ALTERNATIVE' GATEKEEPERS - THE ARTISTS GALLERY, MEMBERSHIP GALLERIES, ARTISTS' CO-OPERATIVE GALLERIES.

In addition to the conventional commercial first-exposure galleries already discussed one finds a number of 'non-commercial' alternatives during this period. They were non-commercial in the sense that they were not entirely dependent upon their incomes from exhibitions and sales for their survival. They managed instead by relying on subscriptions or contributions raised either from artists or from other interested parties. Although one might describe this category as 'alternative' one finds that, within the whole art gallery structure of this period in New York, these galleries functioned mainly as an adjunct to their more conventional cousins because, in providing exposure to new or as-yet neglected artists, they were generally seen (even by those running them) as conduits to the 'uptown' establishments of the mainstream commercial galleries. In the period under consideration the most important representatives of this category were establishments incorporated as non-profit organisations so that collectors and other interested parties could give donations and receive consequent tax benefits (much as if they had given to a charitable institution) and the artist-controlled co-operative galleries. There are several examples of the former, most founded in the nineteen thirties and in existence for the majority, if not all, of the period in question. The majority of the latter, however, were founded in the nineteen fifties, although there was the occasional one before then.

The most important of the galleries incorporated as a non-profit organisation was undoubtedly the Artists Gallery, which opened in 1936 on West Eighth Street. It was the idea of businessman Hugo Stix, a fine arts graduate from Harvard, who had become anxious

about the plight of artists in the depths of the Depression.[1] The 1936 statement which accompanied the opening of the Artists' Gallery expressed Stix's hope that the Artists' Gallery would fulfil a characteristic 'gatekeeping' role, and would

"bring before the public work which appears to have outstanding merit - work which perhaps would not be adequately seen during the lifetime of the artist, yet which may have true greatness." [2]

It was intended that not only would the work of new, as yet un-exhibited artists be shown, but also that of older artists who were being neglected by commercial galleries; and it was pledged that the exhibition schedule would not be restricted to any particular nationality, school or group. The aim was

"rather to give the individual artist the opportunity for a show in the hope that he will be taken up by the public or by some commercial gallery fitted to continue the sponsorship of his work." [3]

Stix, a wholesale grocer, did not run the gallery himself but employed a gallery director, Frederica Beer-Monti. However, in an effort to keep costs down to a minimum the majority of the gallery staff were voluntary.[4] The amount needed to cover the gallery's running expenses was covered by variable tax-deductible contributions from interested individuals.[5] However, although the gallery was funded by contributions, it was not able to offer any artist a contract or financial assistance. The non-profit nature of the enterprise is reflected in the fact that artists shown were not charged any commission, though they did have to pay exhibition expenses (which were deducted from any sales).[6] However, because the gallery rarely advertised, preferring to rely on word of mouth and the occasional review, these expenses were small. The gallery did, however, print announcement cards which it sent out to people on its mailing list.[7]

Because of Artists Gallery's financial structure the stress was upon the provision of an exhibition venue whereby the artist could be introduced to the buying public or brought to the attention of other, more prestigious, dealers. Most exhibitions staged were solo shows (though some artists were doubled up), interspersed with regular group shows. In most cases artists offered a solo show had previously been included in a group exhibition. In the gallery's early years exhibitors were selected by the director, who made regular rounds of artists' studios. However, over the years the increase in the number of artists living in New York meant that this process became too time consuming and a jury with a revolving membership was instituted to hold regular viewings of work brought to the gallery by hopeful artists.^[8] By 1940, the gallery had staged more than 50 exhibitions.^[9] By 1951, despite 3 changes of location and a period in the mid-forties when it had been forced to close down, it had shown 350 artists in 195 solo and group shows.^[10] The stylistic range of those shown was varied. Among those given their first New York exhibitions (or if mature artists their first New York exhibition for some time) were: Joseph Albers (1938), Eugenie and Saul Baizerman (both in 1937), Byron Browne (1938), Adolf Gottlieb (1940), Hans Hofmann (1937), Boris Margo (1938), Richard Pousette-Dart (1941) and Ad Reinhardt (1943).^[11] It was gallery policy not to give an artist a second show for at least 3 years after the first (though in practice many had to wait 4 - 6 years), and to offer no artist more than 3 exhibitions.^[12]

Another variation on this theme of the non-profit organisation formed to encourage American art is those galleries funded by fixed

membership dues, from either artist or 'lay' members. One such was the Contemporary Arts Gallery, [13] others the Grand Central Gallery and its fellow Grand Central Moderns.[14] Although the importance of these galleries as true 'gatekeepers' was minor, for much of the art they exhibited was contemporary only in a strictly temporal sense, they may be considered as having played a part in introducing the concept of the ownership of contemporary art to segments of the public who had not previously considered the idea. This they in the main accomplished via their practice of holding annual lotteries whereat works were awarded to the gallery's 'lay' members (in the case of the Grand Central Gallery this was in addition to its more conventional sales activity). At the Contemporary Arts the works included in these lotteries (predominantly graphics and works on paper) were drawn from the monthly group shows staged by the gallery (these were open to any contemporary American artist and, over the years, included artists ranging from Louis Bosa to Mark Tobey, many unknown at the time they were first displayed).[15] At the Grand Central Gallery the works distributed were the products of the gallery's nation-wide spread of approximately 500 artist members, given by these artists during the year.[16]

The most important development in 'non-commercial' gatekeeper alternatives in the nineteen fifties was the growth of artist-controlled co-operative galleries. There had been the occasional co-operative gallery in New York before this: the A.C.A. Gallery had been one for a short time in the nineteen thirties, the Jane Street Gallery had been in existence from 1944 - 1949, and the Pyramid Gallery had been open from 1947 - 1949.[17] The co-operative galleries of the 1950s were opened in response to much the

same need felt by Stix more than a decade earlier - the desideratum for Fifty-Seventh Street galleries willing to look at new work, and more particularly the work of younger artists (in this case the 'second generation' of artists of the "New York School"). The difficulties of the latter nineteen forties and early nineteen fifties owed much to the relative prosperity of the era, the enhanced prestige of art, and the more widespread availability of art education - all of which combined to produce an ever-increasing number of young artists in New York City, which in turn ever-more exacerbated the already existing bottleneck. However, despite the build up of these pressures even by the late nineteen forties, the artists concerned believed that the right ambience for the creation of the co-operative galleries came only in the early nineteen fifties, after the Ninth Street Show, which for the first time "made it possible to exhibit without all the accoutrements and apparatus of a gallery."^[18] All the co-operative galleries of the nineteen fifties were founded in the Tenth Street area (in Greenwich Village), the district where the majority of (younger) New York artists lived and worked because of this area's cheapness and socialised at venues such as The Club and the Cedar Tavern.

The first of this latter group of artist co-operatives were founded in 1952, with the Tanager opening in the summer and the Hansa in the autumn of that year.^[19] The purpose of the Tanager, characteristic of all these co-operatives and similar in tone to that of the Artists' Gallery 15 years before, was

"to provide opportunity to as many artists as possible, whose work merited a showing, but would not otherwise be seen. We felt that the gallery should not be the sounding board for a particular group or point of view. We wanted to keep the Tanager entirely open, in touch with as many tendencies and directions as possible."^[20]

Initially the Tanager had 6 members - Charles Cajori, Lois Dodd,

Angel Ippolito, William King, Fred Mitchell and Philip Pearlstein - but thenceforth there was generally a shifting membership of 9 or 10 artists.^[21] The Hansa was the idea of artists Jan Muller, Wolf Kahn and Felix Pasilis. It started off with 12 members, and over the years until it closed in 1959 had 24 members altogether.^[22] Although the members of both galleries were stylistically diverse, the artists concerned decided to band together "through mutual need".^[23] This sense of communality was especially marked in the case of the founder members of the Hansa, all of whom were ex-students of Hans Hofmann who had kept in close contact and felt their work mature enough to exhibit.^[24] Both galleries were funded by membership dues: at the Hansa these were about \$18 per month,^[25] at the Tanager they were \$10 (in the mid-nineteen fifties).^[26] The latter gallery was unusual because, alone among the co-operatives, members had to pay the gallery a commission on any sales of first 25 per cent and later 33 per cent (but this was a minor source of income as there were generally few sales).^[27]

There was great stress on democracy in the running of these two artist-run co-operatives. Characteristically, exhibition policy was always determined by the artist-only membership, with a reputed stress upon displaying only those artists whom they "respected".^[28] The selection of work to be shown was made by the artist members on constant visits to artists studios: a blurring of the dealer/artist function which held some potential for conflict as there was little or no separation between exhibitors and exhibited, and disliked by at least some of the artist-selectors for this reason.^[29] In its exhibition schedule the Tanager was seen by its members as being

"a public extension of the artist's studio. Its shows have reflected intimate artistic problems that painters and

sculptors faced and have provided a means of defining, clarifying and evaluating them ..."[30]

At the Tanager most exhibitions were 3 person shows or small groups. Each year a large invitational annual was held, with the aim of demonstrating a "cross section of the contemporary spirit in the visual arts".[31] By 1955 the gallery had given their first New York solo shows to 9 artists.[32] By 1956 it had shown more than 200 artists, of which perhaps half had not previously shown in New York.[33] At the Hansa both member and invitational group shows, generally of 3 weeks duration, were given in addition to solo shows. These exhibitions were supplemented by a number of educational activities, such as a series of lectures, designed to attract additional interest in the gallery.[34]

The Tanager was unique among the artist co-operatives in its policy of giving non-member artists solo shows - at the Hansa and other co-operatives these were given only to members. They were able to do this because they did not have to rely entirely upon membership dues to cover expenses. In the early years some monies were given by the artists Elise Asher and Nanno de Groot (the latter was a member), and from 1957 till the gallery's closing in 1962 the father of one of the members, Sally Hazelet, contributed a stipend of \$250 per month.[35] This money also enabled the gallery to hire a director to deal with gallery administration, which left members with more free time both to look at new work and for their own art.

The Hansa was the only co-operative to leave the Tenth Street area, moving in 1954 to premises on Central Park South. At this time the membership was expanded to help cover the increased costs of the new site as otherwise membership dues would have had to nearly treble.[36] From the start the gallery had employed a part-

time director, and after this move had 2 working in tandem - Ivan Karp and Richard Bellamy. Subsequent to these two joining the gallery there was a move into a more conventional mode of organisation, with more stress laid upon the directors' choice in what art was to be shown - a trend "at strong variance with the catholicity theme upon which the gallery was founded."^[37] Indeed, the stresses caused by this functional contradiction meant that this was the first, in 1959, of the artist co-operative galleries to disband.

Although the Hansa and the Tanager were the first artist-controlled co-operatives to open, in the middle nineteen fifties a number of other ventures were opened on Tenth Street or in the immediate vicinity with the same idea of being "alternative exhibiting opportunit[ies] for 'younger' unrecognised artists".^[38] The first of these was the James Gallery, founded in 1954 with 12 members, followed in time by the Camino, which opened in 1956 with 10 members. The March, started in 1957 with 24 members paying dues of \$2.50 and had 27 members during the 3 years of its existence. The Brata was founded in 1957 by the Krushenick brothers;^[39] while the Area, with 9 members each paying dues of \$20 per month, was the last to be opened (in 1958).^[40] These galleries all had larger memberships than either the Tanager or the Hansa but, like them, saw co-operative galleries as giving the artists concerned

"a visibility; an opportunity to do, as a group, what we would have been unable to do as individuals."^[41]

Over the decade of the nineteen fifties, when the above artist-run co-operatives were most active, they involved a large number of artists (some 150 were members of the different galleries in the nineteen fifties) and provided an exhibition venue for over 450 painters and sculptors.^[42]

Both the Artists' Gallery and the artist-controlled co-operatives can be considered to be situated remarkably firmly within the role of the 'ideal gatekeeper' i.e. giving an artist his/her first exposure. There were some significant drawbacks to the position of these 'alternative' non-commercial galleries within the New York market: one was that the financial structure of these galleries precluded any activities outside of the temporary exhibition; another was that the geographical location of many of these establishments meant that they found it difficult to attract tastemakers and potential collectors to their shows; yet another was that the status of such galleries meant, on the whole, that they were not able to charge prices commensurate with those of the commercial galleries. In consequence, they did not perhaps serve artists as well as it they might have in sales terms.^[43] However, if one considers how successful these galleries were in fulfilling their 'gatekeeper' role one must adjudge them to have been remarkably successful on their own terms. Stix claimed, for instance, that up to 40 per cent of those artists shown by the Artists' Gallery by 1951 had been taken up by mainstream commercial galleries.^[44]

The fact that these galleries functioned in such a relatively 'pure' fashion, for their history and organisation seemed to contradict a norm of commission selling which usually militated against a dealer serving solely in a gatekeeping capacity, can be attributed to their financial structures. The constitution of the Artists' Gallery in the middle nineteen thirties as a quasi-charitable institution so as to fulfil its stated aim of giving artists their first or early New York exhibition exposure, whilst

the co-operative galleries of the nineteen fifties were able to fulfil something of the same function via artist-member dues and sales, must be traced back both to the wider economic situation and to the expanding character of the New York art market. In the Depression era of the nineteen thirties many artists were on relief and the art market was stagnant, whereas in the nineteen fifties the national economy was generally buoyant and the art market was entering an unprecedented boom period. But it would appear that the need for venues willing to display new, or neglected older, artists did not go away during the two decades under consideration. Despite a steady increase (particularly in the nineteen fifties) in the numbers of so-called 'uptown' galleries from the early to middle nineteen fifties onwards, the size of the producer group grew at an even-faster pace.

It was the need for visibility, to have an exhibition venue where one's work could be seen by the establishment of uptown dealers, museum staff and specialist media, which enabled the artists involved in the co-operative galleries of the nineteen fifties to work together despite their often wide stylistic differences - even to the extent of the various galleries on occasion clubbing together to arrange contiguous or combined exhibitions to enhance the possibility that interested parties might make the journey downtown to view the works on display. When more galleries willing to show their art opened uptown the artist-controlled co-operative galleries faded away. Between 1960 and 1963 all those mentioned closed down, the need for them gone.^[45] Unlike those of the co-operative gallery movement of the nineteen seventies, these galleries were not motivated by any ideological commitment to finding an alternative to the mainstream

commercial gallery network, rather they were to aid the 'second generation' of the New York School in their attempts to follow in the footsteps of the first. When more alternatives had opened, these galleries just "faded" away.^[46] However, whilst still in existence they were valued by the artists they served and, as the artist Boris Margo described the Artist's Gallery, these galleries were, to the artists of New York

"more than just another gallery. It is a public institution..." ^[47]

Whilst they existed the 'non-commercial' galleries fulfilled a function which made them a significant part of the organisation of the whole 'dealer-set' in particular, and the 'support-system' in general: one which filled a need not answered completely by the 'validator', the 'promoter' or even the more conventional 'gatekeeper'; and enabled a greater number and variety of artists to be presented to the final part of the 'support-system' triumvirate, the collector.

NOTES

- 1 "One for the Show" - Time: 26/9/55; p 76.
Aline B Louchheim: "Unique Gallery - 15 Years Old" - New York Times: 1/1/1951: II; p 9.
Elizabeth Sacertoff : "Artists Gallery Reopens" - P.M. Magazine: 29/7/1940. Typescript in Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll number D313.
- 2 "From the Announcement of the Opening October 1936", (pamphlet), Artists Gallery Papers, unfiled.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 The gallery publicity claimed that no gallery staff were paid. See "The Artists Gallery", pamphlet, n.d. (1942?). Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number D313.
However, Beer-Monti appears to have received regular small payments in the gallery accounts - Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 5 Most contributions were approximately \$10, but on occasion were as much as \$1000 - \$2500.
The original sponsors of the gallery included: Jere Abbott, Fiske Kimball, Walter Pach, Audrey McMahon, Paul J. Sachs, Meyer Schapiro and James Johnson Sweeney. Pamphlet, n d, (1938), Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 6 See "From the Announcement of the Opening" (1936), where it says that the gallery "proposes to render this service without expense to the artist and to allow him the total sale price of any work sold for him". This is corroborated by the records in the Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 7 Frederica Beer-Monti: letter to Marcel Jean, 6/2/1948. Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll number D313.
- 8 Louchheim: op cit.
These viewings were apparently instituted in the mid-fifties, and in the 2 1/2 years before the Second New Talent Show (held circa 1958) the juries saw the work of over 500 artists with an average age of 28 years. Press Release (n d). Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number D313.
In 1951 Stix estimated that they examined the work of about 20 artists a week, and gave 15 shows a year.
Sidney Field: "Only Human", n.d. or reference. (article included in 1950 - 1951 scrapbook). Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 9 Press Release (typescript), n.d., Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number D313.
Also "The Artists Gallery" - Art Digest: 15/5/1940; p 31.
- 10 "The Artists Gallery (851 Lexington Avenue, New York City) - Fifteen Years in Review", exh. cat. Also Fields: op cit.
- 11 For details of artists shown at the Artists Gallery, and catalogues etc. see: Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 12 Louchheim: op cit. See also Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 13 This was run by the Collectors of American Art Inc, and became incorporated as a membership organisation in 1931, with the aim of "placing reasonably priced American art in as many American homes as possible". Members paid dues of \$5 per annum, and the total amount thus raised was used to form a purchase fund to buy work from the monthly exhibitions held at the gallery. At the end

- of each year the works bought were divided among the membership by means of a lottery.
- "Contemporary Arts Gallery" - Art Digest: 1/7/1951; p 7.
- "Collectors Draw Lots" - Art Digest: 15/12/1948; p 14.
- "Collectors Allot 259 Works of Art" - Art Digest: 15/12/1940; p 10.
- "Collectors of American Art Inc" - Magazine of Art: 31 (1938): 2; p 108.
- 14 This was started in the 1920s by Edwin S. Barrie, and was founded to "operate solely in the interests of American artists". It had artist and "lay" members, the latter paying dues of \$350 p. a. which went toward the gallery's running costs.
- "Grand Central Galleries" - Art Digest: 1/12/1937; p 9. Thomas C. Linn: "Grand Central Galleries Finds Taste of U.S. Public For Art is Conservative" - New York Times: 13/9/1942; p 2. "Grand Central Galleries on 57th Street" - Art Digest: 15/12/1943; p 8.
- 15 Via its lottery this gallery distributed between 150 and 250 works, mainly graphics, each year.
- 16 Half of the proceeds of the contribution of lay members went to the artists. Linn: op cit.
- "Grand Central Galleries Come to 57th Street" - Art Digest: 15/12/1943; p 8.
- 17 For the A.C.A. Gallery see Chapter 6.
- The Pyramid Gallery was located on Eighth Street, and it had up to 60 members at one point.
- The Jane Street Gallery had 12 original members including Nell Blaine and Leland Bell.
- Joellen Bard: "Tenth Street Days: An Interview with Charles Cajori and Lois Dodd" - Arts: 52 (1977): 4; p 103.
- 18 Bard: *ibid*; p 99.
- 19 "A Short History of the Tanager Gallery", n. d. (c 1955), unpaginated, Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives, Museum of Modern Art. "Tenth Street Days - the Co-ops of the 1950s", exhibition at the Pleiades Gallery, 20/12/1976 - 7/1/1977; p 1 & 8.
- 20 "A Short History of the Tanager Gallery": *ibid*.
- 21 *Ibid*.
- 22 Other founding members included Richard Stankiewicz, Jean Follett, Allan Kaprow and Barbara and Miles Forst.
- Jane Wilson: response to questionnaire sent out in preparation for exhibition "Tenth Street Days - the Co-ops of the 1950s" - See papers relating to this exhibition, Tenth Street Days Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 23 *Ibid*.
- 24 Fay Lansner: response to questionnaire cited above, December 1977. In "Tenth Street Days" Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 25 Wilson: op cit.
- 26 "A Short History of the Tanager Gallery": op cit.
- 27 Brian Doherty: "Death of a Gallery" - New York Times: 1/4/1962: II; p 15.
- 28 Charles Cajori and Lois Dodd quoted in the catalogue of "Tenth Street Days": op cit; p 1.
- 29 Lois Dodd and Charles Cajori - quoted in Arts: op cit; p 99.
- 30 Foreword to Tanager Gallery - exhibition catalogue, October - November 1959. "Tenth Street Days" Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 31 Art Digest review of Tanager Gallery Invitational Annual, 1954. Quoted in "A Short History of the Tanager Gallery", Alfred H. Barr Papers, History Archive, Museum of Modern Art.
- 32 "A Short History of the Tanager Gallery": *ibid*.
- 33 "Tenth Street Days": op cit; p 1.

- 34 Wilson: op cit.
35 Bard: op cit; p 103.
36 Wolf Kahn quoted in "Tenth Street Days": op cit; p 8.
37 Wilson: op cit.
See also Ivan Karp: Paul Cummings interview, 12/3/1969. Archives of American Art.
38 James Gahagan: quoted in "Tenth Street Days": p 13.
39 "Tenth Street Days": op cit; pp 13, 20 - 21, 32, 43.
40 Norman Kanter: response to questionnaire sent out in preparation for "Tenth Street Days" exhibition - Tenth Street Days Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
41 Edward Clark (September 1977): quoted in "Tenth Street Days": op cit; p 43.
42 Bard: op cit; p 98.
The foreword of the catalogue for the exhibition "Tenth Street Days" estimates that 250 artists were fee-paying members of the co-operatives between 1952 and 1962, and that more than 500 artists exhibited.
43 Hugo Stix: letter to Milton Lechay, n.d. (?January 1940). Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
44 Louchheim: op cit.
45 Milton Esterow: "Pilgrims of Modern Art Trek to Show on Village 'Left Bank'" - New York Times: 9/12/1957; p 37.
Re "Tenth Street Days": op cit; pp 1, 8, 13, 21, 32, 43.
46 Edward Clark: quoted in "Tenth Street Days": ibid; p 43.
47 Quoted in catalogue for exhibition of the artist, 3/3 - 17/3/1941, Artists Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.

CHAPTER 10: THE AVANT-GARDE COLLECTOR - NEW STYLE AND NEW CONTEMPORARIES

Unlike the museum and dealer-gallery who, it has been seen, fulfilled a number of characteristic roles, the American collector in general fulfils only one characteristic role, that of patron. In consequence, this grouping must, in the main, be differentiated and discussed with regard to the individual collector's orientation toward artistic production: more specifically, his/her relative bias with respect to aesthetic novelty versus established values. At one end of this spectrum is situated the "avant-garde" collector, one who acquires art which is generally recent in production and more often than not still controversial in both the critical and commercial spheres. However, the majority of collectors falling into this category do not appear to have been motivated by an attraction to new art as exemplifying a specific art-historical position. Instead, they appear to have been most attracted by contemporaneity, and the idea that, to use the words of collector Dorothy Schramm,

"to have contemporary art at home is to participate in the culture of one's time .." [1]

In relation to the structure of the art market as a whole this category of collectors bears certain parallels with the 'gatekeeper' dealer. Indeed the majority of these collectors owed a primary debt to such dealers in the accumulation of their collections. Indeed, as the amount of published coverage which the art represented by such collections received was rather variable and exposure of it in an institutional context was often restricted to the occasional 'new talent' shows, such galleries were the only constant venue to which collectors of the avant-garde type could go to see new talent.

If one considers the question of the social standing of the collectors who concentrated upon new art and artists, it is possible to detect a preponderance of those of newly created prosperity or relatively modest means, albeit from a variety of socio-professional groupings: Roy R. Neuberger and Howard Lipman were stockbrokers in New York (Neuberger founded his own partnership in 1940, and Lipman worked with him); Fred Olsen was an Illinois research scientist and businessman whose initial interest in modern art was sparked in 1940, but who only began collecting in 1945; Hollis F. Baker was a Grand Rapids furniture manufacturer; Jan de Graaf was a Netherlands-born businessman; James Schramm was 'merchant' from Burlington, Iowa who with his wife, Dorothy, acquired his first work in 1941; [2] Earle Ludgin was a Chicago advertising executive from the mid-thirties onwards; Larry Aldrich was a New York dress designer who began to collect in 1937; David M. Solinger was a young New York lawyer when he began collecting in the late nineteen forties.[3] In only a handful of cases does there appear to be an element of inherited income among male collectors - Lawrence Bloedel was a college librarian from the nineteen twenties to 1940 who commenced collecting in 1940 (however, his early retirement from this occupation suggests some element of private income); Richard Brown Baker (who worked first for the State Department in the late nineteen forties and latterly as a writer), seems to have had some independent assets which he used to subsidise his collecting.[4] However, with the exception of Joseph P. Hirshhorn - who first set himself up as a stockbroker in New York in the nineteen twenties (at which time he began to collect nineteenth and early twentieth century French painting), [5] branched out as a venture capitalist in New York and Toronto from the late nineteen thirties onwards (when he first became interested in the field of contemporary

American art), and became a multi-millionaire in the early nineteen fifties as a result of his successful capitalisation of uranium exploration in Canada (after which the bulk of his collecting was done) [6] - none of these collectors could be described as more than upper-middle class in income.

The historian Philippe Julian has observed that some collectors regret not being creators, and use their collecting of contemporary production as a substitute activity and their purchases as a way of furthering art developments. [7] Some element of this appears to have been present for a substantial proportion of 'avant-garde' collectors in the United States, for many had professional or quasi-professional links with the arts. Indeed, such sentiments were almost exactly expressed by collector Muriel Kallis Newman:

"When I saw the tremendous esthetic innovation of the 1950s I had to surround myself with it. The collection is a sublimation for what I didn't do." [8]

Among such collectors one can number Henry Clifford, a curator at the Philadelphia Museum of Art who began to collect in 1932. Edgar Kaufmann Jr (the son of a Pittsburgh retail magnate), an architect and interior designer, became involved with the Museum of Modern Art in 1938 and helped run its Department of Industrial Design in the early nineteen forties, but had begun to collect European and American art ranging from abstraction to 'magic realism' in the nineteen thirties. [9] Nathaniel Saltonstall, a Boston architect became interested in new American art in the nineteen thirties because of his appreciation of modern architecture. Edward Wales Root, a college lecturer in art and art appreciation in upstate New York from the nineteen twenties to 1940, began to collect seriously in 1929 upon receipt of a bequest. [10]

Further collectors of adventurous disposition had a practical experience of the visual arts which influenced their predilections. Alfonso Ossorio, the scion of a wealthy Filipino family, was a painter who exhibited in New York in the nineteen forties and nineteen fifties whose collecting direction from the late nineteen forties onward was influenced by his own work - initially he focused upon the work of Jean Dubuffet, Jackson Pollock and Clyfford Still.^[11] In the nineteen fifties, however, his collection widened to incorporate other members of the New York School with which he had become critically identified (Lee Krasner, Willem de Kooning, James Brooks, Giorgio Cavallon, Fritz Bultman, Joseph Glasco and Wilfred Zogbaum).^[12] Wright Ludington was ostensibly a painter (he trained at the New York Art Students' League and the Pennsylvania Academy in the early nineteen twenties) although it was his private income which enabled him to live in California and to start collecting in 1924.^[13] Howard Lipman practiced as a sculptor in the nineteen thirties. Muriel Kallis Newman was an aspirant painter in New York in the nineteen forties and early nineteen fifties when she initially acquired the work of Franz Kline and de Kooning, whom she then knew personally. Subsequently she bought works (generally no more than a couple each) by Carone, Joseph Cornell, Arshile Gorky, Philip Guston, Theodor Roszak, Jack Tworkov and Morris Louis until her collection totalled more than 65 works.^[14]

A number of collectors were apparently influenced in their collecting direction by a short-lived or amateur involvement with art production. Susan Morse Hilles studied art in New York in the latter nineteen twenties, although she did not start to collect seriously until the mid-fifties. Dorothy Schramm studied under artist Rainey Bennett in the nineteen twenties. David M. Solinger

studied at the Art Students League in the mid-forties. Roy R. Neuberger, whose collecting career really began in 1942, studied art in Paris from 1925 - 1929, and has claimed that it was this experience which determined him to later become a collector of contemporary art.^[15] Fred Olsen apparently used his relatively small collection - which ranged from Josef Albers and Paul Klee to William Baziotes, Hans Hofmann and Jackson Pollock (whose work he initially acquired in the mid-forties), and group of Hans Moller (2 dozen works in 1948) - as a "teaching aid" for his own painting.^[16]

A significant number of collectors in this category were wealthy women. Some, such as Susan Morse Hilles, Eleanor Gates Lloyd, Katherine Ordway and Katherine Warren apparently collected in their own right. Eleanor Gates Lloyd, a member of the wealthy Biddle family, commenced collecting abstract art in the late nineteen thirties.^[17] Katherine Ordway, who began to collect modern art in 1925 with the purchase of a Brancusi bronze, was a Connecticut spinster of independent means. In some cases the women concerned were from moneyed backgrounds, but their marriage may have acted as a further stimulus to their collecting. Katherine Warren, who acquired her first pieces of modern art in the nineteen twenties was married to a member of the Whitney family. Although Emily Tremaine, who came from a moneyed mining family, had bought the occasional modern French painting during the latter nineteen thirties, her greatest involvement came after her marriage to businessman Burton in 1944 (the Miller Company Collection in the nineteen forties and their private collecting from 1950 onwards).^[18]

A number of attitudes and approaches toward collecting become evident if these collectors are examined closely. One is the stress which these persons ostensibly placed upon the primacy of individualism in their collecting practice. On the one hand this could mean an emphasis upon the non-programmatic, even unplanned, response to certain works. Collector Wright Ludington expressed it thus:

"I never thought in terms of forming a collection. I simply enjoyed certain pictures and objects. Whenever I liked one especially - ... - and could afford to buy it, I did. I simply bought for my own enjoyment." [19]

Similarly Root stated that "if ... one thing in a picture ... moves me I buy it." [20] Another factor was the emphasis which these collectors apparently put upon buying modern works not necessarily as representatives of the progressive or critically avant-garde, but as examples demonstrating a certain aesthetic quality which the individual collectors responded to and/or sought. For instance, Ludington stated his attachment to the "romantic and emotional" [21] and to "the pictorial and the colorful". [22] Nathaniel Saltonstall expressed his intention to include only works which to him signified a successful expression of "moods". [23] Because of this his collection ranged from Stuart Davis, Charles Demuth, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Jack Levine, John Marin and Charles Sheeler to Byron Browne, Alexander Calder, William Congdon, Boris Margo and and Karl Zerbe). [24] Root stipulated that he looked for artists whose work had a "special feeling for their medium", [25] and for those whom he thought had a empathy with nature and were able to express it in their work. This led him to appreciate work of considerable stylistic diversity. By his death in the mid-fifties he had accumulated some 270 works ranging from John Carroll, Morris Kantor and Eugene Speicher to Reuben Tam, Mark Tobey and Bradley Walker Tomlin; and had gathered groups of works by artists as

different as Charles Burchfield (by whom he eventually owned 21 watercolours), George B. Luks (15 works), Charles Seliger (8 pieces) and Theodoros Stamos (from whom he acquired 17 oils between 1945 and 1953).^[26] The personal taste of Emily Tremaine was for work that was "understated the quiet, architectonic, rather more intellectual than emotional", ^[27] and it was this taste which was reflected in the 30 works - ranging from Josef Albers, Perle Fine and Piet Mondrian to Paul Klee, Joan Miro and Pablo Picasso - which she initially bought for and exhibited as the Miller Company Collection ^[28] (these became the nucleus of the Tremaine's private collection) and guided their purchases in the nineteen fifties.

The individualist emphasis which this category of collectors gave to their selections resulted in collections which, although adventurous in their general tone, contained a wide variety of modern art from the avant-gardes of early twentieth century Europe to the most recent production of American and European new contemporaries. For instance, Henry Clifford's collection ranged from a number of more Surrealist-inspired works by Eugene Berman, Giorgio de Chirico, Klee, Matta and Miro to the purer abstraction of Jean Arp, Fritz Glarner and Mondrian.^[29] Even where the tenor of the collection was more upon abstraction a considerable variety was likely to be evident. For example, by 1950, the collection of Jan de Graaf included Picasso, Ben Nicholson and C. S. Price. ^[30] That of Eleanor Gates Lloyd, which had at first consisted primarily of European painters such as Klee, Miró and Georges Rouault also featured, from the early to middle nineteen forties onwards, American and European post-war abstractionists such as de Kooning, Henry Moore, Robert Motherwell, Marino Marini, Pollock and Charles

Seliger.[31] The collection of Katherine Warren, although relatively small in size (by the mid-forties it consisted of approximately 3 dozen pieces in various media) included works ranging through Arp, Calder, Albert Gallatin, Klee, Miró, Mondrian (bought relatively early in 1938) and Picasso.[32]

The characteristic eclecticism of American 'avant-garde' collecting was exacerbated when the collection was large and/or built up over three or four decades, as were those of Wright Ludington and Katherine Ordway. In such collections the collector might continue to acquire work representative of adventurous taste for the years in which he/she commenced collecting, while at the same time venturing into more recent developments. For instance, Ludington's collection, which grew in a period of some 40 years to included several hundred items, namely: School of Paris artists such as Marc Chagall, Raoul Dufy, Amedeo Modigliani and Rouault; Cubist works by Georges Braque, Picasso, Marcoussis, Roger De La Fresnaye and Max Weber; Surrealist pieces by de Chirico (whose works Ludington was one of the first Americans to acquire in the nineteen thirties), Berman, Max Ernst, Salvador Dali, Matta, Miró and Yves Tanguy; and a varied representation of sculpture ranging from classical works to Rodin and Germaine Richier.[33] In addition, Ludington became interested in modern American art in the nineteen twenties after having met the dealer Alfred Steiglitz; and acquired the work of Charles Demuth, Georgia o'Keefe, Gaston Lachaise, John Marin, Joseph Stella and Charles Sheeler. In the early nineteen forties he began to acquire some work by younger American painters such as William Baziotes, Morris Graves and Tobey alongside earlier twentieth century European works. In the next decade he became involved in patronising local Californian artists

such as Rico Lebrun and Howard Warshaw.[34]

However, the stress which such collectors placed upon individual response meant that the characteristic eclecticism was not necessarily the result of successive collecting of consecutive stylistic avant-gardes. Instead, collectors of this type were likely to buy works of varying critical progressivism contiguously. For instance, Katherine Ordway, whose collection ranged from turn of the century European modernism to strictly contemporaneous American abstraction (from Edouard Vuillard to de Kooning, Burchfield to Pollock), in 1948 purchased a 1912 Cubist Picasso and in 1949 - 1950 acquired two 1949 Pollocks and a 1946 Picasso.[35] The Marmonts, in the 20 years until the early nineteen sixties, built up a collection of several hundred works ranging through Karel Appel, Kenneth Armitage, Jean Dubuffet, Philip Guston, Ellsworth Kelly, Motherwell, Eduardo Paolozzi, Pollock, Theodor Roszak and Antonio Tapies to Constantin Brancusi, Juan Gris, Klee, Lipchitz, Miró, Nicholson, and Picasso.[36] Moreover, in the early nineteen fifties, once they were collecting purely as private individuals the Tremaine's collecting increasingly featured contemporaneous developments alongside their acquisitions of early twentieth century European modernism. For instance, in 1952 - 1953 they acquired works by Agam, Robert Delaunay, Klee, Riopelle, Mark Rothko and Michel Seuphor.[37] Unusually for an American collector, the Tremaine's more coetaneous purchases in the early nineteen fifties were dominated by European post-war abstract artists such as Nicholas de Staël, Hans Hartung, Georges Mathieu and Soulages (this was apparently due to their habit of travelling in Europe every winter). [38] But from the mid-fifties on they developed an increased interest in the work of recent American painters such as

Pollock, Kline (4 pieces acquired) and de Kooning. [39] From the later nineteen fifties onwards they became increasingly identified with the most recent developments in American art and made perspicacious purchases of Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg and Frank Stella. [40]

The foregoing collectors made their selections within the parameters of both European and American modernism from the turn of the century forwards. However, a number of collectors placed certain more particular restrictions upon the scope of their collections. The most notable of these must be limits as to nationality (most typically American art only) and date (for instance, solely the work of 'new contemporaries'), or a combination of both. Collectors who stand out as representative of such parameters are Lawrence H. Bloedel, Joseph P. Hirshhorn, Roy R. Neuberger and Edward Wales Root. They shared the conviction that they were, to use the words of Hirshhorn, "American and wanted to buy American art".[41] Root apparently determined as early as 1913 that he should patronise native talent, and particularly new contemporaries, if at all possible.[42] Over the 40 years of his collecting career this determination persisted, although he did acquire a small number of works by younger British artists such as John Tunnard in the nineteen forties and nineteen fifties. The collection of Bloedel (284 works by 189 artists by the time of his death in the late nineteen seventies) was apparently motivated by the conviction that the United States had replaced France as the centre of the art world. The stylistic scope of his primarily contemporary purchases was extremely broad (only a tiny proportion of his collection was pre World War II) and included work by Milton Avery, Loren MacIver, Larry Rivers, Levine, John

Flannagan, Herbert Ferber, Graves, Walter Murch and Stamos.[43] Neuberger, who has asserted his collecting practice arose from his belief that it was "natural" for the collector to "buy the artist wherever you were" [44] made his first major purchase in 1942 - Darrel Austin's "The Legend".[45] His collection subsequently grew rapidly, though spasmodically (he only bought 3 works in 1949 and merely a handful in 1953) and totalled 46 works in 1946, approximately 60 in 1950 and several hundred in 1954.[46] The bias in his selections was toward contemporary production. Within this it ranged widely in style from Avery, Eilshemius, Lyonel Feininger, Lee Gatch, Marsden Hartley, Carl Holty, Karl Knaths, Jacob Lawrence, Levine, Abraham Rattner and Charles Sheeler to Adolf Gottlieb, Graves, Philip Guston, David Hare, Hofmann, Pollock, and Tobey.[47] Most artists were represented by single or pairs of works. The only 2 painters represented in any depth were Avery (of whose work he owned nearly 100 examples by the mid-fifties) and Eilshemius (by whom he acquired more than 100 pieces in 1958).[48] Hirshhorn's preference when he became involved in the collecting of American contemporary painting in the early nineteen forties was for American 'social realism' of the type shown by the Whitney Museum of American Art and the A.C.A. Gallery - especially artists such as Philip Evergood, Walter Gropper, Giorgio Prestopino and Raphael Soyer.[49] He bought widely in the subsequent decade, continuing to emphasise somewhat more realist contemporary art by both older artists and newcomers such as Larry Rivers. However, in the later part of this decade he gradually moved into the field of new American abstraction and purchased painters such as Appel, Baziotes, Sam Francis and Hofmann. By the mid-fifties Hirshhorn was estimated to own some 1500 works by a large number of artists among whom were (in addition to the above) George Bellows, Stuart Davis,

Arshile Gorky (early), Hartley, Edward Hopper, Oskar Kokoshka and Gaston Lachaise. Of the total approximately 70 works were by Evergood, 50 by Avery (purchased in 2 lots) and dozens by Eilshemius.^[50] This total by 1962 had exploded to 4000 paintings and 400 pieces of sculpture. ^[51]

The priorities of another sub-group of 'avant-garde' collectors placed their primary stress, not upon nationality, but upon the acquisition of the work of new contemporaries. Howard Lipman, once he began to collect in the nineteen fifties, concentrated upon small-scale contemporary sculpture by artists then at or near the nascence of their careers. Among the artists represented in his collection by the late nineteen fifties were Oliver Andrews, Leonard Baskin, John Chamberlain, James Kearns, William King, Louise Nevelson and Richard Stankiewicz.^[52] Up to the early nineteen fifties Larry Aldrich had concentrated upon collecting French art from Auguste Renoir to Maurice Utrillo.^[53] But in 1951 he made his first really contemporary acquisitions, paintings by Zao Wou Ki and Viera da Silva, and this signalled an increasingly important change of emphasis in his collecting, for he subsequently

" concentrated more and more on the contemporary scene. As my involvement and enthusiasm grew, so did my collection. The adventure of collecting now revolved principally around making my collection adventuresome"
^[54]

(although he continued to amass early twentieth century European modernism throughout the rest of the decade). In the early nineteen fifties his purchases featured the post-war European abstractionists heavily - Appel, Pierre Alechinsky, Singier, Maurice Estève, Manessier, de Staël, Dubuffet, Hartung and Moore - a bias which reflected his habit of frequenting Parisian galleries whilst abroad on business. However, he also acquired a variety of post-

war American artists such as Grace Hartigan, de Kooning, Larry Rivers and Stamos.^[55] In 1958 - 1959 he expanded his interest in American young contemporaries. Initially, he inaugurated a scheme whereby he agreed to purchase a number of works from a different artist annually,^[56] and then later offered a purchase fund for such art to the Museum of Modern Art.

The collecting practice of Richard Brown Baker crystallised in 1955 when, after a few years of fairly indiscriminate buying of modern art, he decided, under the stimulus of the twin "New Decade" exhibitions mounted by the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney Museum, to concentrate upon art produced after World War II.^[57] In 1955, only one year after buying his first abstraction (a José Guerrero), Baker acquired works by Dubuffet, Hofmann, Georges Mathieu, Nicholson, Pollock, Santomaso, Werner and Winter (27 works in all). Generally most artists were represented in Baker's collection by only one or two works, although there were the odd exceptions (William Ronald was one). In all, by 1959, his collection of 170 works (all but 36 acquired after 1954) included 24 artists from North America - among them Richard Diebenkorn, Hofmann, Louise Nevelson, Nathan Oliviera, Felix Pasilis, Ad Reinhardt, Robert Goodnough, and Richard Stanciewicz - and 30 from Europe - including Afro, Alberto Burri, Alan Davie, Dubuffet, Hosiasson, Mathieu and Soulages.^[58] Susan Morse Hilles acquired her first purchase, a Seymour Lipton bronze, in 1954, after a friend had introduced her to some New York galleries concerned with contemporary production. Over subsequent years her acquisitions ranged through Josef Albers, Kenneth Armitage, Alberto Giacometti, Elsworth Kelly, David Smith and Stamos. Like Baker, Hilles amassed a collection which was broad rather than deep, for she deliberately

restricted her representation of each artist to no more than a couple of recently executed works to keep her patronage as wide as possible.[59]

One has noted that this type of collector occupied a structural position within the New York art market analogous to that of the 'gatekeeper' dealer. However, it is noticeable upon examination that the collector was almost invariably at one remove further from the producer than the dealer, for with only the rare exception these collectors relied upon the dealer for their introductions to new developments - as Hilles acknowledged,

"They have discovered the talented artists. They have sifted the gold from the dross in their choice of works to exhibit. A good clutch of dealers is essential to variety in a collection." [60]

- and upon dealers for their supply of works, for despite their effective closeness to the 'producer-set' most of these collectors preferred to buy their works through dealers. The functional separation of the majority of these collectors from the producer-set meant also that few 'avant-garde' collectors were patrons other than in the context of purchasing works. Only on a rare occasion - Ludgin, Root - is it apparent that a collector actively attempted to support an artist.[61] The result of this situation was that collections such as these reflected the nature of new and contemporary production available in metropolitan galleries.

Only two collectors were notable within the context of the New York art scene itself in their regular use of studio visits as a means of seeing new work, instead of relying solely upon the dealer as 'initial gatekeeper'. The first was Joseph Hirshhorn, described by critic Thomas B. Hess as the "great studio schlepper", [62] who appears to have been almost unique in his active preference of

purchases made direct from the artist.[63] Larry Aldrich actively pursued a round of studio visits after 1959, after he had offered the Museum of Modern Art a purchase fund of \$10,000 with which to acquire the work of young artists as yet unrepresented in the museum collection. But it would appear that Aldrich did not share Hirshhorn's enthusiasm for the studio expedition, viewing this process as a means whereby he could become knowledgeable about current developments and not as a seminal part of his acquisition procedure.[64]

With respect to the influence which the selection of work displayed by New York galleries could have upon the composition of collections of this type, Root stressed that he bought predominantly figurative work in the nineteen thirties and early nineteen forties not because of a commitment to figuration, for he claimed to have realised at the time of the Armory Show that representation was neither inevitable nor necessarily desirable in painting, but because this was the kind of painting generally shown by galleries specialising in contemporary American art or was dealt with in published sources. However, when he moved to New York City in 1944, and was able to frequent the new generation of 'gatekeeper' galleries (such as "Art of this Century") then opening, he began to acquire much more abstraction.[65] If one analyses the purchases made by Neuberger and Hirshhorn in the nineteen forties, one can see that they represent much of the range of current American production available in New York at the time. Moreover, the increasing diversity of foreign artists available in New York in the post war years is demonstrated by a number of other collectors. Hollis F. Baker concentrated on the work of young British painters, to whose work he had been introduced by the critic

Michael Ayrton.[66] Stanley J. Seeger focused his attention on younger Italian painters - such as Afro (he owned 19 works), Biroli, and Cremoni - from the early nineteen fifties onwards, with the addition of a number of British artists. [67]

The increasing critical coverage given to a wider diversity of American contemporary art must also have had its influence upon collectors interested in contemporary production, especially upon those not resident in the New York area and reliant upon the media and occasional trips to New York for their information about new developments. For instance, in the late nineteen thirties and early nineteen forties Chicago-based Earle Ludgin's purchases appear to have reflected the general tenor of nineteen thirties realism - among his early purchases were paintings by Ivan Albright and Raphael Soyer. By 1952, however, his collection (which by then totalled just over 220 works) had diversified to include works by Forest Bess, Hyman Bloom, Louis Gugliemi, Hofmann, de Kooning, Lipton, John Piper, Rattner, Ruvolo, Kurt Seligmann and Max Weber.[68]

On a purely practical level a collector of relatively restricted means would be likely to be attracted to the field of contemporaneous production, in particular that of new or unknown artists, because of the relative cheapness of such work. In fact this consideration was specifically mentioned by some collectors as a partial determinant upon their collecting direction. Root, for instance, quite apart from his determination to buy American production, decided early on that best way for him to buy works of top quality was to concentrate upon the work of the relatively low-priced contemporary American artists. [69] A similar motive was

expressed by Richard Brown Baker and David M. Solinger nearly 25 years later.^[70] By 1955 the latter had, despite his expressed inability to pay more than a modest price for any particular purchase, built up a collection of some 60 paintings and sculptures of recent vintage which included: European artists such as Dubuffet (6 paintings in 1955), Mathieu, de Staël, Estève, Klee (8 watercolours) and Léger (5 oils from 1950 - 1952); and Americans such as Baziotes, Arthur Dove, de Kooning, Gatch, Levine and Tam.^[71]

Similarly, albeit on a more general level, it was to the middle and upper-middle classes that critic Dorothy Grafly was referring when she opined that the backgrounds of some collectors made it impossible for them to think of single purchases in terms of tens of thousands of dollars rather than hundreds or thousands, and as a result they restricted themselves to relatively modestly-priced purchases.^[72] Certainly Hilles appears to have exhibited such an attitude, for she has claimed that she fastened upon the work of younger contemporaries because their prices appeared "reasonable" to her.^[73]

The artist Jack Tworckov has stated that

"Without the newly-rich, modern art in this country would not have patrons - ... Those who have amassed recent fortunes are not afraid of the new." ^[74]

- a statement which deserves some serious examination. Indeed, a number of the individuals cited have commented upon the sense of excitement which motivated their collecting, at least in part. Hilles has claimed that she "enjoy[ed] myself playing my hunches about buying....", ^[75] while Olsen has likened the collector to a "(re)searcher" - one who "wants to discover things unknown to the

masses or to the experts." [76] However, it would be a misleading over-generalisation to state that the "newly prosperous" or upper-middle classes per se were the main exponents of avant-garde taste. Indeed, it is unlikely that collectors from backgrounds which had not familiarised them with the concepts and appearance of modern art would be able easily or immediately to appreciate it, nor would these individuals have the confidence to trust their taste in the acquisition of current production. In at least two cases, collectors mentioned received advice and encouragement as to their selections from critics known for their espousal of modernism - Eleanor Gates Lloyd apparently received guidance from the critic James Johnson Sweeney, [77] while Katherine Warren in her early years as a collector in the late nineteen twenties was apparently greatly influenced by critic-collector Albert Gallatin, who acted as an advisor and directed her towards painting of a cubist and abstract mien.[78] Among the handful of women of means, the amount of leisure time available to them for travel and the study of art works must have increased the likelihood that these individuals might be able to familiarise themselves with the newest developments, while their means would have given them the wherewithal to back their researches.

However, the key to explaining the orientation of collectors of 'avant-garde' taste in New York in the period under consideration would appear to lie in the fact that such a significant proportion of the individuals cited had an extra-ordinary amount of involvement with the art world, either directly or indirectly. This degree of acquaintance meant that they were able to overcome the problems of familiarization with new modes of artistic production, while the occupations of many gave them the opportunities necessary for coming

into contact with the work of new artists. Moreover, the individuals cited, although of a high enough social class to have as a rule received tertiary education, with the benefits which this experience could bring in increasing the ability to deal with new concepts, were perhaps not of the social standing which meant that they were over-conscious of social standing and peer pressure. This is not to say that all these collectors were rugged individualists, dedicated to the pursuit of the uncommon and/or difficult. Instead, the forces of social cohesiveness may well have had some beneficial re-inforcing effects upon the directions which these collectors took, as the peer groups in question in many cases consisted of art professionals themselves. Together, these circumstances meant that these individuals were able to respond to art which was somewhat in advance of consensual taste.

NOTES

- 1 Dorothy Schramm: response to questionnaire from author, 1984.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 David M. Solinger: Paul Cummings, interview, 6/5/1977, Archives of American Art.
- 4 Richard Brown Baker: interview with the author, 14/8/1984.
- 5 This collection was dispersed at auction on 10 November 1948 to finance a business venture. Art Prices Current, 1947 - 48: Items 4921 - 4966; pp 112 - 114.
- 6 Emmet John Hughes: "Joe Hirshhorn, the Brooklyn Uranium King" - Fortune: November 1956; pp 154 - 176.
- 7 Phillipe Julian: The Collectors; pp 75 - 85.
- 8 Judith Goldman: "Collecting in Chicago" - Art News: LXXVIII (1979): 2; p 49.
- 9 Russell Lynes: Good Old Modern; pp 180 - 181, 317 - 320.
- 10 However, the very first work he acquired was a Maurice Prendergast from the Armory Show of 1913.
- 11 He met Pollock for the first time in 1948 and bought his first work soon afterwards, was introduced to Still in the early 1950s, and began buying and met Dubuffet in 1949.
- 12 Francine Du Plessix: "Ossorio the Magnificent" - Art in America: LV (1967): March/April; pp 56 - 65.
- 13 Henry J. Seldis: "Harmony in Diversity" - Art in America: LII (1964): 4; p 47.
- 14 "An American Choice: Collection of Muriel Kallis Steinberg Newman", exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum, 1981.
Alongside the main thrust of contemporary American production one finds a minority of works by twentieth century European modernists such as Arp, Ernst and Giacometti.
- 15 Neuberger only bought the occasional work during the 1930s, generally of a conservative "American Scene" nature - for example a Peter Hurd, "The Boy From the Plains" in 1939.
Roy R. Neuberger: Paul Cummings, interview, 19/9 & 26/9/1975, Archives of American Art.
- 16 Fred Olsen: "A Collector Tries Painting" - Art News: L (1951 - 52): 7; p 10. "Five Collections", exh. cat., Parma Gallery, New York, 4/12 - 24/12/1948.
- 17 However, her marriage to a Pennsylvania banker may have further enabled her collecting.
- 18 Emily Tremaine: Paul Cummings, interview, 24/1/1973, Archives of American Art. Aline B. Saarinen: "Abstraction in the Assembly Line" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 4; pp 25, 26, 51, 52.
- 19 "Wright S Ludington: Four Decades of Gifts", exh. cat., Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1982.
- 20 Edward W. Root, letter to Margaret Platt, n.d., Edward Wales Root Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm roll number 2378.
- 21 "From the Collection of Lt Wright Ludington", exh. cat., Cincinnati Art Museum, October 1944 (also shown at Dayton Art Institute, December 1944). "San Francisco Sees the Ludington Collection" - Art News: /XLVIII (1949 - 50): 4; pp 44 - 45.
- 22 Seldis: op cit.
- 23 "A Memorial Exhibition: Selections from the Nathaniel Saltonstall Collection", exh. cat., Institute of Contemporary Arts, Boston, 1969.
- 24 He credited the dealer Edith Halpert with having directed his interest toward contemporaneous American production rather than European art. "Nathaniel Saltonstall: A Boston Architect who Collects What is New" - Art Voices: November 1962; p 21.

- "Boston's Entertaining Bachelor" - Vogue: 15/2/1948; p 107.
- 25 Edward Wales Root, letter to Margaret Platt: op cit.
 - 26 "Edward Wales Root Bequest", exh. cat., Munson-Proctor-Williams Institute, 5/11/1961 - 24/2/1962. "Edward Wales Root Collection", exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum, 1953. Checklist of American Paintings (1951) & Catalogue List of Collection (n.d.) - Edward Wales Root Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm roll number 2376.
 - 27 Emily Tremaine: Paul Cummings, interview, 24/1/1973, Archives of American Art.
 - 28 See Chapter 14.
 - 29 "Philadelphia Private Collectors II", exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1950. "The Main Line Collects" - Art News: XLVI (1947 - 48): 5; pp 13 - 16, 39.
 - 30 "Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 104. "Collection of Jan de Graaf", exh. cat., Portland Art Museum, 1949.
 - 31 "Philadelphia Private Collections II", exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1951. "The Main Line Collects" - Art News: XLVI (1947 - 48): 5; pp 13 - 16, 39. Eleanor Gates Lloyd: response to questionnaire by the author, 1984.
 - 32 Rosamund Frost: "Newport Radical" - Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): 2; pp 38, 39, 62.
 - 33 Gerald Norland: "The Ludington Collection" - Artforum: III (1964): 10; pp 34 - 37.
 - 34 Possibly as the result of social contacts in New York (for Ludington was a long-time friend of the dealer Betty Parsons) (apparently his purchases in the field of post-war American abstraction were limited by considerations of scale). "Collector's House" - Vogue: 1/8/1960; pp 134 - 137. Seldis: op cit.
 - 35 "The Katherine Ordway Collection", Yale University Art Gallery, 1983.
 - 36 "The Maremont Collection" - Art International: July/August 1961; pp 34 - 39, 45.
 - 37 "The Tremaine Collection - 20th Century Masters", exh. cat., Wadsworth Atheneum, 26/2 - 29/4/1984.
 - 38 Emily Tremaine: quoted in *ibid*; pp 18 - 19, 28.
 - 39 Their early purchase a work by Barnett Newman in 1948 must be seen as superficially fitting in with the abstract and architectonic character of the Miller Collection.
 - 40 "The Tremaine Collection: 20th Century Masters", exh. cat., Wadsworth Atheneum, 26/2 - 29/4/1984. Mary Ann Tiglio: "Art at its Best" - House and Garden: April 1984; pp 145 - 152, 204, 206, 207. Sidney Janis: Paul Cummings, interview, 1/8/1972, Archives of American Art.
 - 41 Joseph H. Hirshhorn: Paul Cummings, interview, 16/12/1976, Archives of American Art.
 - 42 Edward Wales Root - written statement in Edward Wales Root Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 2378.
 - 43 "Lawrence H. Bloedel Collection of American Art", exh. cat., Whitney Museum of American Art, November 1979.
 - 44 Roy R. Neuberger: Paul Cummings, interview, 19/9 & 26/9/1975, Archives of American Art.
 - 45 Which he bought after viewing it in the Museum of Modern Art exhibition "Americans 1942".
 - 46 "Broker Buys American" - Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): 3; p 54. "Modern American Paintings", exh. cat., Samuel Kootz Gallery, 15/4 - 4/5/1946. "The Neuberger Collection", exh. cat., Whitney Museum of American Art, 17/11 - 19/12/1954.

- 47 "Collecting American Art" - Art in America: XLII (1954): 4; pp 283 - 290. "American Art 1910 - 1960", exh. cat., M. Knoedler & Co, New York, 8/6 - 9/9/1960. John Richardson: "The Neuberger Collection" - Art in America: LI (1963): 2; pp 86 - 88. "An American Collection - The Neuberger Collection", Rhode Island School of Design, 1968. Daniel Robbins: "Collector: Roy Neuberger" - Art in America: LVI (1968): 6; pp 46 - 53.
- 48 He owned 46 Averys in 1949 (38 of which had been bought in a group from the ex-dealer Valentine Dudensing), a further 52 were bought in 1951 from Paul Rosenberg for \$10,000. Paul Rosenberg, letter to Roy R. Neuberger, 28/2/1951, Roy R. Neuberger Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 49 "Selected Paintings and Sculpture from the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden", Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 1983.
- 50 Albert Dorne: "Trends in Collecting: Environments: In the Office" - Art in America: XLVI (1958): 2; pp 39 - 41. Jay Jacobs: "Collector: Joseph H Hirshhorn" - Art in America: LVII (1969): July/August; pp 60 - 71. James Johnson Sweeney: "A Living Frame for Sculpture" - House & Garden: August 1964; pp 112 - 114, 144. "The Hirshhorn Collection" - Arts Yearbook: 9; pp 62 - 65. "The Benefactors: Three Twentieth Century Patrons of the Arts", exh. cat., Brainerd Art Gallery, State University Collection of Arts and Sciences, Potsdam, New York, 19/10 - 9/11/1980.
- 51 One has discussed Hirshhorn within the parameters of 'avant-garde', and more particularly 'new contemporary' collecting because this formed such a significant part of his activity for so many years of this study. However, from approximately the mid-fifties onwards his collecting became increasingly two-track - on the one hand he continued to buy the work of new contemporaries extensively; on the other he began to assemble an historical collection, both within the field of modern (late nineteenth and twentieth century) sculpture and also works by artists who might be considered to provide the historical backdrop to his contemporary collection.
- 52 Howard Lipman Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 53 The great majority of his purchases were made not in New York, but on semi-annual trips made to Paris in connection with his business.
- 54 Larry Aldrich: quoted in "New Talent USA" - Art in America: LIV (1966): July/August; p 22.
- 55 "New Talent USA" - Art in America: LIV (1966): July/August; pp 22 - 23. "Selections from the Larry Aldrich Contemporary Collection, 1951 - 1964", exh. cat., Larry Aldrich Museum, 1964. "Collection: Larry Aldrich" - Art in America: L (1962): 2; p 25. "The Larry Aldrich Collection" - Arts: 33: 4; pp 39 - 40. See Acquisition Records in: Larry Aldrich Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 56 John Russell: "Collector: Larry Aldrich" - Art in America: LVII (1969): January/February; pp 56, 58, 60, 62, 63.
- 57 He had previously begun to collect in a small way in Washington (under the direction of the dealer Franz Bader). Richard Brown Baker: interview with author, 14/8/1984.
- 58 Accessions List, Richard Brown Baker Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1045. "A Collection in the Making", exh. cat., Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 18/3 - 19/4/1959. Richard Brown Baker: "Notes on the Formation of My Collection" - Art International: September 1961; pp 40 - 47. "Two in the First Row" - Art in America: LI (1963): 3; pp 90 - 91. "Selections from the Collection of Richard Brown Baker", Squibb

- Gallery, 4/10 - 4/11/1979. "Fortissimo! Thirty Years from the Richard Brown Baker Collection of Contemporary Art", exh. cat., Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1/3 - 28/4/1985.
- 59 "Two in the First Row" - Art in America: LII (1964): 5; pp 84 - 91.
- 60 "Susan Morse Hilles Collection", exh. cat., Larry Aldrich Museum, 17/9 - 3/12/1967.
- 61 Edward W. Root: correspondence with Peppino Mangravite, 23/10/1939 - Edward Wales Root Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 2376. Earle Ludgin: Correspondence with Forrest Bess, 1960s and 1970s - Forrest Bess Papers: Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1703.
- 62 Thomas B. Hess: "Connecticut Cross Country" - New York Magazine: August 1973; p 64.
- 63 Hirshhorn was notorious for his hard bargaining habits, but under the sale-on-commission norm it is unlikely that the bargains he was able to strike in the studio would be appreciably greater than those negotiated in a gallery. There might be some advantage, however, if the artist concerned was not formally represented by any gallery. For comments on the bargaining element of his collecting see the notes on Hirshhorn in the Aline B Saarinen Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Numbers 2069 - 2072.
- 64 William Lieberman (curator of prints) was a personal friend of Aldrich's, and may have influenced him to set up this fund. Correspondence between the Museum of Modern Art: Larry Aldrich, 10/9/1959 & 15/7/1963. Larry Aldrich Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. Lynes: op cit; pp 311 - 312.
- At the same time this purchase fund was renewed (1963) he provided the Whitney Museum with a similar fund governed and inaugurated his own small private museum specialising in the work of new contemporaries. The last 2 ventures were financed by the disposal of his collection of early twentieth century European art. "Larry Aldrich Collection" - Arts: 38 (1963): 1; pp 36, 38. "Auction Trends" - Art in America: LV (1967): 6; p 140. "Selections from the Larry Aldrich Contemporary Collection, 1951 - 1964", Larry Aldrich Museum, 1954. (Copy of catalogue in Larry Aldrich Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 65 Edward Wales Root Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 2378.
- 66 "The Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 110.
- 67 "The Stanley J Seeger Jr Collection" - Art International: October 1961; p 64.
- 68 "Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 109. "Chicago's Fabulous Collectors" - Life: 27/10/1952; pp 98, 99.
- 69 Aline B. Saarinen Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Numbers 2069 - 2072.
- 70 Draft of talk to Wellesley College, May 1963, Richard Brown Baker Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1754.
- 71 David M. Solinger: Paul Cummings, interview, 6/5/1977, Archives of American Art. "Museum of Modern Art: Visits to Private Collections - Collection of Mr and Mrs David M Solinger", 14/5/1952 & 9/5/1955, typescript, Library, Museum of Modern Art.
- 72 Dorothy Grafly: "The New Psychology of Collecting" - American Artist: 19 (1954): 8; pp 37, 63, 64.
- 73 "Susan Morse Hilles Collection", Larry Aldrich Museum, 17/9 - 3/12/1967. Press Release for same exhibition, dated 31/8/1967 is in the Larry Aldrich Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 74 Dorothy Gees Seckler: "Artist in America: Victim of the Culture

- Boom" - Art in America: LI (1963): 6; p 36.
- 75 Susan Hilles: quoted in "Two in the First Row" - Art in America: 1963: 5; p 89.
- 76 "Five Collections", exh. cat., Parma Gallery, New York, 4/12 - 24/12/1948.
- 77 "The Main Line Collects" - Art News: XLVI: 5; pp 13 - 16, 39.
- 78 Rosamund Frost: "Newport Radical" - Art News: XLV: 2; pp 38, 39, 62.

CHAPTER 11: THE AVANT-GARDE COLLECTOR - COLLECTORS OF A TENDENCY

Within the whole field of modern art collectors in the United States in the period under discussion perhaps the rarest category or sub-group was that of the collectors taking a deliberate decision to concentrate upon a particular stylistic 'avant garde', just as the least common division among dealers of modern art in New York was those who devoted themselves to promoting a specific tendency.^[1] On the one hand many 'collectors of a tendency' appear to have had an overtly historical motive. They wished, to quote collector Lydia Winston,

"... to discover those who, in our opinion have made a definite contribution to twentieth century vision and though has been our special interest; it has been a challenging one ..." [2]

The motivation of others appears, however, to have been more commercial or speculative. To a significant degree their purchasing directions were dictated by the belief, similar to that expressed by collector David M. Solinger, that

"paintings, like strawberries, should be bought when they're plentiful and cheap." [3]

An examination of the backgrounds of collectors in this category reveals that they came from a variety of socio-professional groupings, albeit linked by an upper-middle or upper class background and with some element of inherited wealth quite common. The most significant examples of the latter must be Walter P. Chrysler, an heir to the Chrysler fortune (uninvolved with the automobile business he functioned as a publisher, realtor and racehorse breeder), who began to collect vigorously as a young man in the early nineteen thirties.^[4] Morton D. May, also the possessor of inherited wealth and the director of the family-owned St. Louis retail chain, began to collect in the latter nineteen

forties. [5] James Thrall Soby, who came from a wealthy Connecticut background, was known from the early nineteen thirties as a museum curator and critic/historian, and acquired his first paintings in 1930.[6] Lois Orswell, was an independently-moneyed Rhode Island resident who started to collect in 1944 (before her marriage to businessman Fletcher Daley). Lydia Winston, daughter of architect Adolf Kahn and art student in New York in the nineteen thirties, was long the driving force behind the ostensibly joint collection of Futurist art assembled by her and her husband, Detroit lawyer Harry.[7]

Professionals, especially those from the more remunerative professions such as law and finance, figured strongly in this category. Lawyer-collectors included Joseph Shapiro and Barnet Hodes, who both commenced collecting in the early nineteen forties, and St. Louis-based Sturgis Ingersoll, who bought his first works in the early nineteen twenties. Bernard Reis, a New York accountant who began to collect in the nineteen twenties, had his interest in modern art stimulated by his marriage to a dealer; and reinforced by a job which brought him into contact with many dealers and artists in the nineteen forties and nineteen fifties (he was the accountant for "Art of this Century" Gallery in the early nineteen forties and handled the financial affairs of a number of artists over the years).[8]

In the case of those collectors who concentrated upon an avant-garde characteristic of the years in which they embarked upon their collections, one finds that this was most often Surrealism (or offshoots such as Neo-Romanticism and Magic Realism). This was because all the collectors to be discussed in this context

commenced collecting in the nineteen thirties or nineteen forties - and although Surrealism had been comprehensively shown and written about in Paris from the mid-twenties onwards, had been given significant institutional exposure both at the Wadsworth Atheneum in late 1931 and at the Museum of Modern Art in 1936, and had been promoted in New York from 1932 onwards at the galleries of first Julien Levy and then Pierre Matisse - within the context of the New York art market this style was still considered to be not only advanced but also controversial at least until the mid-forties (when critical attention and debate began to focus upon new developments in American abstraction instead).

Those collectors who specialised in Surrealism can be divided into two groups: those whose initial collecting was in the area of School of Paris of the early twentieth century but who quickly became focused upon Surrealism, and those who commenced collecting this style with a definite commemorative purpose. Although his collection did feature other early twentieth century modern painting, Joseph Shapiro was apparently attracted to Surrealism because it satisfied his "addiction to meaning". From 1942 onwards he amassed a collection of Surrealist work which included Balthus, Joseph Cornell, Salvador Dali, Max Ernst, Rene Magritte and Matta.^[9] The initial purchases made by the Reises in the nineteen twenties were representative of the School of Paris, but their interest in Surrealism was apparently stimulated by their daughter after she had been educated in Europe in the late nineteen twenties.^[10] By the mid-forties their large collection included works by Andre Bauchant, Eugene Berman, (early) Giorgio de Chirico, Ernst, Matta, Joan Miró, Kurt Seligmann and Yves Tanguy.^[11]

James Thrall Soby was apparently also attracted to Surrealist (or Surrealist-influenced) art by desire for the presence of what he has called "psychological involvement" in a painting. However, his support of this stylistic tendency had a more critical slant to it, for he adopted the view that Surrealism was the most noteworthy of the stylistic developments of the years in which he became interested in modern art because it was a significant contrary influence "against abstraction in its stricter forms".^[12] An emphasis upon the art historical position of Surrealism as an avant-garde can be noted in the initial motivation behind Barnett Hodes' collecting (which began when he was introduced in Paris to Surrealism by another collector), for he started with the purpose of assembling a group of works to commemorate the 1925 Surrealist exhibition (Paris) via a purchase of one work by each artist included in this show, although not necessarily the actual works included in the original exhibition. The majority of Hodes' purchases in this context had actually to be restricted to small scale works such as drawings or objects. Hodes' collecting did not stop there, however, and eventually he owned works by de Chirico, Delvaux, Ernst, Magritte (a particular favourite) and Tanguy. He also acquired works by artists such as Ernst and Magritte produced in nineteen forties and nineteen fifties.^[13] Although he had bought School of Paris artists such as Matisse in the early nineteen thirties, Soby acquired his first Surrealistic work, a de Chirico, in 1935 (he subsequently bought 8 works, among them "Enigma for a Day" (1914) ".... as fast as I could get the money to buy

^[14] them"). By 1961 his collection of nearly 70 works was dominated by Surrealist or Surrealist-influenced works - by artists such as Balthus (3 paintings including "The Street" (1933) which he

purchased in 1937), Joseph Cornell, Dali, Alberto Giacometti, Paul Klee, André Masson, Man Ray, Matta, Miró (including "Portrait of Mrs Mills in 1750", 1929), Pablo Picasso and Tanguy - and Neo-Romantic paintings - by Eugene Berman, Christian Berard, Peter Blume, Leonid and Pavel Tchelitchew.[15]

It was quite common for collectors who concentrated upon a commercially neglected avant-garde art to be thrown into a reliance upon particular dealers for the provision of the work they desired for, as one has noted, specialisation was one of the major by-products of the sale-on-commission norm which governed art dealing the New York art market. In some cases this might be one of the so-called "dealers for a tendency" such as Julien Levy, or it might be a dealer-promoter with a unique enthusiasm such as Curt Valentin. In Soby's case his enthusiasm for Surrealist work led him into a financial involvement in the Julien Levy gallery, and for a few years in the latter nineteen thirties he had a 49 per cent stake in the business (this interest was discontinued when Soby became a member of the Advisory Committee at the Museum of Modern Art in the late nineteen thirties).[16] This kind of involvement appears to have been rare, although Walter Chrysler Jr. was rumoured to sponsor Valentine Dudensing's gallery at the time when his collection consisted primarily of the early twentieth century French painting (particularly Cubism) which was Dudensing's main line of business.[17] In addition, such collectors oftentimes were forced to seek work outside the normal gallery channels, either in the United States or abroad. This was a particular problem for the Winstons in connection with Italian Futurist art, as they were forced by its general unavailability (even in European galleries) to acquire many of their pieces from either the artists themselves, their families

or friends. For instance, the majority of the Balla works acquired by the Winstons in the nineteen fifties were procured from Mme Marinetti in Italy.[18]

In addition to Soby and his links with Levy, two collectors who exhibited a particular reliance upon one dealer in their chosen fields were Sturgis Ingersoll and Lois Orswell, who both shared an overriding interest in modern sculpture at a time when a partiality for this art form was extremely rare amongst United States collectors. In consequence, both collectors had strong ties with Curt Valentin of the Buchholz Gallery, the only New York dealer until the mid-fifties to attempt to encourage a market for this medium, and their collections in large measure reflected the artists handled by Valentin. In the decade before Valentin opened his New York gallery in 1937, Sturgis Ingersoll had patronised local Philadelphia painters such as Franklin Watkins and Walter Stuempfig [19] and had acquired School of Paris painters such as Moise Kisling, Henri Matisse, Amedeo Modigliani, Chaim Soutine, and Georges Rouault.[20] He acquired his first piece of sculpture, a Constantin Brancusi, in 1928. However, over the succeeding 25 years he built up a collection of what he considered to be the best in twentieth century sculpture. [21] This included works (many large scale) by American and European sculptors ranging from Auguste Rodin, Charles Despiau and Aristide Maillol; early twentieth century works by Jacob Epstein and Jacques Lipchitz; and contemporary works by John Flannagan, Gaston Lachaise and Henry Moore.[22] Lois Orswell, on the other hand, began to collect sculpture in the mid-forties and within the space of a few years built up a collection of some 50 pieces including 5 Lachaises and 3 Moores, with the emphasis on small or medium-sized pieces set upon pedestals.[23]

She also made a point of complementing her sculptural pieces with two-dimensional work by the same artists. In the mid-fifties Ingersoll's collecting was curtailed by the rising prices in his favoured (early twentieth century) field.^[24] However, Orswell moved into the field of post-war American art. By 1960 she had acquired sculptures by David Hare, Louise Nevelson, and Richard Stankiewicz; and had expanded her painting collection from its earlier emphasis upon artists such as Paul Klee (5 pieces) to feature post-war painters such as Franz Kline and Willem de Kooning.^[25]

Another collector with strong ties with a particular dealer was Lydia Winston, who built up a group of early twentieth century abstract works, and the first significant collection of Italian Futurist works in private hands in the United States. The dealer in her case was Rose Fried of the Pinacotheca Gallery, who in the nineteen forties and early nineteen fifties was perhaps the only consistent New York conduit for such works. Although Winston had begun her collecting career sporadically and conventionally in the late nineteen thirties, her collecting proper began in the mid-forties when she "became fascinated" by the early twentieth century abstract painting shown by this dealer and decided to build a collection of this art.^[26] From the later nineteen forties onwards she acquired works by Josef Albers, Theo van Doesburg, Wassily Kandinsky, El Lissitzky, Piet Mondrian and Kurt Schwitters (from whose first New York exhibition in 1948 she bought 4 works and by whom she eventually owned 8 pieces).^[27] However, Fried apparently suggested Futurism as a possible focus for the Winston collection in the late nineteen forties. At this time this style was not generally available in New York galleries (although Fried

handled it occasionally), nor had it received any significant institutional exposure (the Museum of Modern Art only staged its first survey of this area - "Twentieth Century Italian Art" - in 1949).[28] After a period of study (in which the foregoing exhibition was apparently useful), the Winstons acquired their first major Futurist piece, Severini's "Dancer Beside the Sea" (1913) in 1951. By the early nineteen fifties Lydia Winston wrote to Mme Marinetti that " ... we are especially interested in the Futurist movement." [29] Subsequently, in a collection which by 1957 comprised 106 items, [30] they acquired significant groups of works by Balla (15 pieces including "Iridescent Interpenetration" (1912), plus a large group of drawings), Boccioni (6 paintings), Paul Klee (3), Severini (6 paintings), Kurt Schwitters (5 'Merz' collages), Antoine Pevsner (3 pieces) and Picabia (3).[31]

Where the foregoing collections included work of a more recent vintage than that of their main specialisation this often arose out of the collector's primary interest, or the process whereby he/she obtained the works in the main part of his/her collection (perhaps due to the collector's social contacts). In the nineteen forties Soby, although his collecting activity apparently diminished due to the conflicts between his role as a museum professional and that of a private collector, admired certain American painters such as Loren MacIver and Ben Shahn (for whom he curated a solo-show at the Museum of Modern Art in 1947)[32] or younger Europeans such as Francis Bacon, Jean Dubuffet, Giorgio Morandi and Marino Marini (2 large bronzes). He credited his awakening appreciation of American art in this decade to the influence of Alfred H. Barr and Dorothy Miller of the Museum of Modern Art, with whom he came into regular contact in the nineteen forties as a result of his membership of

this institution's Acquisitions Committee. In the early nineteen forties the Reises' became interested in the work of younger American painters, in the main Surrealist inspired or influenced, via their contacts with Peggy Guggenheim's 'Art of this Century' Gallery and acquired works by Cornell, William Baziotes, Arshile Gorky, Robert Motherwell and Jackson Pollock. Furthermore, Reis' profession brought him into contact with a number of the so-called New York School, most particularly Mark Rothko and Theodoros Stamos, whose work he purchased in later years. As the critical profile of Futurism improved, and the prices asked rose, the Winstons began to take an interest in the work of post-war Italian painters and the 'Cobra' Group, and to build up groups of works of these.^[33] It was their links with Italian dealers and artists, built up in their pursuit of Futurist art, which influenced the Winston's in the former direction, a relatively unusual one for United States collectors of the time as few New York dealers handled such work.

The foregoing can be seen as exemplifying the more 'cultural' or historical approach to the collecting of an avant-garde. However, the collecting careers of Morton D. May and Walter P. Chrysler shared a more overtly speculative approach to this activity. As May stated in a 1951 letter to the dealer Edith Halpert:

"The pictures I buy must 1) be excellent works of art; 2) must be very appealing to me (many good pictures I can admire but not want in my collection; 3) must be bought at a very cheap price." [34]

Speculative motives appear to be present in this 1956 statement from Chrysler:

"Since my collecting started it was necessary to find the best paintings of schools not eagerly sought by museums and large private collectors. When other collectors bought large canvases, I would buy small pictures. Later, when small paintings were readily hung, I acquired large ones.

When interest lagged ... I added them." [35]

May concerned himself with one past avant-garde during his years as a collector, early twentieth century German expressionist painting. He was introduced to this art just after World War II by a local St. Louis artist, Maurice Freedman, who acquainted him with the work of Max Beckmann, then domiciled in St. Louis. But his early interest in this area was probably reinforced by Perry T. Rathbone at the St. Louis Museum, who was a close friend of Curt Valentin, one of the handful of expatriate German dealers whose galleries then handled such work. It was only in the next decade that twentieth century German art began to receive significant institutional coverage, for instance at the Museum of Modern Art survey shows of 1953 and 1957 (the former was the first on this topic since 1931). May's collection apparently grew rapidly in its first decade. In 1951 it totalled 39 paintings and in 1960 90 pieces, ranging in date from 1905 - 1950. The artists represented ranged from the expressionism of the 'Brücke' and 'Blaue Reiter' groups to 'Neue Sachlichkeit' and the work of Lovis Corinth and Emil Nolde. However, the collection was dominated by Beckmann, with whom the collector had become friendly before the artist's death in 1950. May acquired his first work by Beckmann in 1948, and by 1960 owned nearly 50 pieces.[36]

Unlike May, Chrysler was, over the years, involved in collecting several historical styles, of which some can only be termed 'avant-garde' in strictly commercial terms. This can be attributed to a strong speculative streak in his collecting activity. His collection in its early years primarily consisted of work by the early twentieth century School of Paris, albeit on a grand scale. When it was first exhibited in 1937 it included some

170 works representing a range of early twentieth century French avant-gardes, including 23 by Pablo Picasso and the same number by Fernand Leger, [37] plus a substantial group of contemporary American paintings.[38] By 1941, although he had disposed of the American works, the collection totalled 341 works from early twentieth century European modernism. Some - in particular the works by Jean Arp, André Masson, Miró and Mondrian - was very adventurous in taste for the time. At this date the whole entity, which laid an emphasis upon the Cubist avant-garde, included 89 works by Picasso, 27 by Léger (12 paintings and 15 works on paper), 22 by Matisse (10 paintings and 22 drawings), 14 Georges Braques, 13 Jean Arps, 10 by Juan Gris, 9 by Miró, 6 André Derains and 5 each by Rouault and de Chirico.[39] He continued to amass early twentieth century European moderns, and by 1959 his collection had reputedly multiplied to more than 4000 pieces in varying media.[40]

However, from the early nineteen forties onwards Chrysler began in his collecting to look increasingly for 'gaps' in the market which might be exploited, for instance, Baroque painting or nineteenth century French Salon painting. He successively amassed, displayed and dispersed a number of collections of such works. It is this speculative approach to art collecting which must situate Chrysler within the category of 'avant-garde' collector, although the 'modern' work he bought increasingly assumed the tinge of "on-guard" taste, for he exhibited no interest in post-war developments in either European or American art and included no such work in his collection. [41]

In summation, there appears to have been two major motivations guiding collectors of a more deliberately avant-garde bent, both of

which implied an awareness of significance. May and Chrysler concentrated primarily on unfashionable past avant-gardes, those neglected in commercial terms. There was undoubtedly an element of competitiveness in this, an element of desire to be acknowledged as being in the vanguard. As May stated in later years,

"During my early years of collecting German painting, I was the only collector in this country working comprehensively in this field of art ... I had the field to myself. If a dealer ... wanted to sell a German painting he almost had to offer it to me, and at a reasonable price." [42]

Although this kind of competitiveness was not a trait restricted to a few, more commercially oriented adventurous collectors, even if such a motive was not as openly stated as by May and Chrysler - for one would, with collector Emily Tremaine,

"... question the integrity of any collector who denied an interest in the valuation the market place puts on his pictures and he cannot but help feel a satisfaction with his own acumen and with the approbation of his peers when he was perspicacious enough to buy, say a Jackson Pollock in 1948, or a Jasper Johns in 1958." [43]

- with these collectors the question of speculation and competition was perhaps more overt as a motivation for collecting than was common.

With respect to the question of the more scholarly approach, the consciousness of the significance which these collections might have can be discerned in a letter written by Lydia Winston in the early nineteen fifties:

"In this country there are not too many futurist paintings in private collections, so it would be especially interesting and significant to have a good representation in our collection." [44]

In this context, Soby stands out as a professional critic-historian who wrote about the very art he collected - indeed the book which established his critical reputation, "After Picasso" (1935), served to establish the 'Neo-Romantics' on the United States critical map

(among the artists in his collection whom he wrote about individually were de Chirico, Dali and Miró); while at the Museum of Modern Art some of the exhibitions he was involved with were "Tchelitchev: Paintings and Drawings" (1942) and "Ben Shahn" (1947).[45]

However, despite the fact that the greater selectivity of these collections gave them a coherence not necessarily apparent in those of the 'avant-garde' collector guided by his/her idiosyncratic responses to un-established art, there are some parallels in the way individuals would appear more often than not to have settled upon their specialisation in a somewhat accidental manner, generally via an acquaintance in the art-world. It was such contacts which helped both to lift the taste of these individuals out of the consensual and to differentiate these collections from the average, rather than a deliberate intention upon the collector's part to distinguish themselves as part of a cultural elite.

NOTES

- 1 See Chapter 6.
- 2 "Collecting Modern Art: Paintings, Sculpture and Drawings from the Collection of Mr and Mrs Harry Lewis Winston", exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts, 27/9 - 3/11/1957.
- 3 David Solinger: Paul Cummings, interview, 6/5/1977, Archives of American Art.
- 4 Time: 22/1/1945; p 68.
- 5 "Morton D May, Art Collector and Retail Stores Executive" - New York Times: 15/4/1983; p D18.
- 6 He was a curator at the Wadsworth Atheneum from 1931 - 1938 under the Directorship of A Everett Austin, whom Soby credits with having given great stimulus and encouragement to his first tentative steps as a collector; and he joined the staff of the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1940.
- 7 Lydia Winston Malbin: Dennis Barrie, interview, 23/8 & 27/8/1974, Archives of American Art. Winston Art Collection, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number D214 - D221.
- 8 Bernard J. Reis Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. Rebecca Reis worked for a Paris gallery in the 1920s, and in the 1940s was a director of the Louis Carre Gallery in New York (which specialised in French art) - "A Monumental Collection of Modern and Primitive" - Interiors: 110; pp 80 - 85, 167.
- 9 Judith Goldman: "Love Affairs with Art" - Art News: LXXVIII (1979): 2; pp 46 - 48. Joseph Shapiro: response to questionnaire sent by author, 1984.
- 10 "A Monumental Collection of Modern and Primitive" - Interiors: 110; pp 80 - 85, 167.
- 11 Museum of Modern Art: Visits to Private Collections, 1/4/1964 (typescript), Library, Museum of Modern Art.
- 12 Although he could see the merit of some as a museum man, conceding "that conflicting kinds of art are equally valid if they're good enough" - James Thrall Soby: Paul Cummings, interview, 7/7/1970, Archives of American Art.
- 13 Whitney Halstead: "The Hodes Collection" - Artforum: V (1966): 1; pp 56 - 59.
- 14 Soby: Cummings, op cit.
- 15 "James Thrall Soby Collection", exh. cat., benefit exhibition for the Museum of Modern Art at M. Knoedler & Co, 2/2 - 25/2/1961. Rosamund Frost: "Collectors Come out of Privacy" - Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): 5; p 18. James Thrall Soby: "The Genesis of a Collection" - Art in America: XLIX (1961): 1; p 69. Allene Talney: "James Thrall Soby" - Vogue: 15/2/1961; pp 82 - 85, 133. "Soby: Grand Passion in Casuals" - Art News: LIX (1961): 10; pp 43, 62, 63.
- 16 Russell Lynes: Good Old Modern: p 236. Julien Levy: Memoirs of a Gallery; pp 98, 99.
- 17 "57th Street" - Fortune: September 1946; p 151.
- 18 Winston Art Collection, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number D215 - D218.
- 19 He built up a collection of some 60 such works.
- 20 The interest in Soutine and Kisling was largely as a result of the influence of Dr Barnes of Merion, Pa. who was the first American to acquire Soutine's work - J. P. Crespelle: La Folle Epoque; p 264.
- 21 Ingersoll interview, 19/9/1957 - Notes in Aline B. Saarinen Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number 2069 - 2072.

- 22 Sturgis Ingersoll: "Sculpture in a Garden" - Magazine of Art: XXXV (1942): 5; pp 170 - 173. Aline B. Louchheim: "The Main Line Collects" - Art News: XLVI (1947 - 48): 5; pp 13 - 16, 39.
- 23 Aline B. Louchheim: "Narragansett Novitiate" - Art News: XLVI (1947 - 48): 3; pp 38 - 40, 56. "Lois Orswell Collection" - Art Digest: 1/5/1947; p 16. "Twentieth Century Art in New England", exh. cat., Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, 6/5 - 30/6/1948. "Sculpture 1850 - 1950", exh. cat., Rhode Island School of Design, 30/3 - 18/5/1950.
- 24 Ingersoll interview notes, Aline B. Saarinen Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number 2068 - 2072.
- 25 "Mrs Lois Orswell Collection" - Arts Yearbook: 4 (1960); pp 88 - 99.
- 26 Aline B. Saarinen: "Collecting Modern Masters on a Masterplan" - Art News: XLVI (1947 - 48): 6; pp 32 - 34.
- 27 Lydia Winston Malbin: Dennis Barrie, interview, 23/8 & 25/8/1974, Archives of American Art. "The Mr and Mrs Harry L. Winston Collection", exh. cat., Museum of the Cranbrook Academy of Art, 8/11 - 25/11/1951.
- 28 Also its accompanying catalogue, and a publication known as "Three Lectures on Modern Art" - Lydia Winston Malbin: Dennis Barrie, interview, 23/8 & 25/8/1974, Archives of American Art.
- 29 Lydia Winston: letter to Bendetto Marinetti, n.d. Winston Collection, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number D218.
- 30 Rose Fried: letter to Lydia Winston, 17/11/1957, Winston Art Collection, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D216.
- 31 Although Futurist works only constituted a proportion of this collection, many of the most significant works were indeed of this style.
- 32 By 1940 he owned one Shahn, during the 1940s he purchased 3 more (of those shown in the 1961 exhibition one (a drawing) was listed as a gift of the artist. No other works by these American artists were listed as being gifts.
- 33 "Twentieth Century Painting and Sculpture from the Winston Collection", exh. cat., University of Michigan Museum of Art, 30/10 - 27/11/1955. "Collecting Modern Art: Paintings, Sculptures and Drawings from the Collection of Mr and Mrs Harry Lewis Winston", exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts, 27/9 - 3/11/1957. "Cobra and Contrasts: Collection of Lydia and Harry Winston and Dr and Mrs Barnett Malbin", exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts, 1974. "The Winston Collection on Tour" - Arts: XXXII (1957 - 58): 4; pp 34 - 39. Jerome Mellquist: "La Collection Winston" - XXe Siècle: Christmas 1958; pp 77 - 78. Gene Baro: "Collector: Lydia Winston" - Art in America: LV (1967): September/October; pp 72 - 76.
- 34 Morton May: letter to Edith G. Halpert, 17/5/1951, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 35 "Statement by the Collector" - The Walter P. Chrysler Jr Collection, exh. cat., Portland Art Museum, March 1956.
- 36 "German Expressionist Paintings from the Collection of Mr and Mrs Morton D. May", exh. cat., Denver Art Museum, 1960. "Morton D. May Collection" - Arts: 44 (1969 - 70): 3; pp 34 - 35. "The Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950: p 104. Alongside his major preoccupation with German painting, May patronised a number of St Louis artists, and owned a small number of contemporary American paintings - Morton D. May: letter to Edith G. Halpert, 20/4/1951 and 6/10/1954. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 37 "Walter P Chrysler Jr Collection" - Art Digest: 1/10/1937; p 11. "Selected Exhibition of the Walter P. Chrysler Jr

- Collection", exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts, 1937.
- 38 By artists such as Milton Avery, Alexander Brook, John Marin, Jules Pascin, Stuart Davis and Reginald Marsh, also a group of some 90 American naif works.
 - 39 "Noted Chrysler Collection Shocks and Stimulates the Southland" - Art Digest: 1/1/1941; pp 10, 30. "Chrysler Collection" - Art in America: XXIX (1941): 2; p 105. F. A. Whiting Jr: "Mr Chrysler Collects" - Magazine of Art: 34 (1940): 2; pp 93, 103, 105, 107. Alfred M. Frankfurter: "341 Documents of Modern Art: The Chrysler Collection" - Art News: XXXIX (1940 - 41): 10; pp 8 - 16, 24. "Collection of Walter P. Chrysler", exh. cat., Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 16/1 - 4/3/1941.
 - 40 Betty Chamberlain: "The Extraordinary Taste of Mr Chrysler" - Art News: LV (1956 - 57): 4; pp 41, 46, 47. "Statement by the Collector" - The Walter P. Chrysler Jr Collection, exh. cat., Portland Art Museum, March 1956. "French Paintings 1789 - 1929", exh. cat., Dayton Art Institute, 25/3 - 22/5/1960.
 - 41 To enable the process of speculative accumulation Chrysler periodically auctioned off groups of works - in 1945 he disposed of 130 early twentieth century French works, followed by similar sales in 1946, 1950 and 1959 (this last sale was to finance the private museum which he had recently founded at Provincetown, Rhode Island) - Art Digest: 15/3/1945; p 26, 1/4/1946; p 24, 1/2/1950; p 25 & Time: 13/7/1959; p 56.
 - 42 "The Morton D May Collection of German Expressionist Paintings", exh. cat., University of Texas, Austin, Art Gallery, 1974.
 - 43 "The Tremaine Collection: 20th Century Masters", exh. cat., Wadsworth Atheneum, 26/2 - 29/4/1984; p 25.
 - 44 Lydia Winston: letter to Bendetto Marinetti, n.d. - Winston Collection, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number D218.
 - 45 Although the catalogues are not attributed to Soby himself, while he was a staff member M.O.M.A. staged the exhibition "Americans 1943: Realists and Magic Realists" and "Romantic Painting in America". Other exhibitions for which Soby was responsible were "Georges Rouault" (1945), "Modigliani" (1951) and "Jean Arp - A Retrospective" (1958).

CHAPTER 12: THE 'ON-GUARD' COLLECTOR - SOME NOTABLE COLLECTORS REPRESENTATIVE OF CONSENSUAL CONTEMPORARY TASTE

The key to an understanding of the 'on-guard', consensual collector is indicated by the following remarks made by Joseph Pulitzer Jr, who stated that

"I never bought anything that I didn't have complete confidence in. I'm not a speculator at all .. I would rather let it wait and mature a bit" [1]

for he wanted to

"bring together a few examples that would have some meaning as a collection of twentieth century artists then in their reputations at their peak at that time"[2]

The most important determinant of inclusion in this category is the relationship of the collector and the work he/she acquires to commercial success or validation. The great majority of work represented in such collections can best be described as accredited in art-historical and commercial terms. This was because the majority of the artists represented in such collections had received a good deal of institutional exposure even by the start of the period under discussion, were to be found in the galleries of well-established promoter-validators in New York or Paris, and had been given extensive critical coverage in books and the media in Europe and America.

A number of collectors must be discussed within the parameters of cautious or 'on-guard' taste because they continued to adhere to the selections which they had made in the early years of their collecting careers i.e. modern art of the first decades of the twentieth century. This meant that collections which had undoubtedly exhibited a fairly adventurous taste for the decades in which they had been commenced were transformed by changing mores into demonstrations of conservative taste. Such collectors fell

into two groups - those whose collections consisted entirely of European modernism, and those who collected early twentieth century American modernists alongside their European selections.

Of those who specialised in European modernism one finds both native-born Europeans who emigrated to the United States and a number of Americans who had spent some time in Europe. One European was Josef von Sternberg, described by critic Arthur Millier in 1949 as one of Hollywood's earliest collectors, [3] appears to have begun his collection of twentieth century European art whilst working in Germany in the nineteen twenties (he emigrated to the United States in the early nineteen thirties). [4] His collection of approximately 70 pieces was basically divided between contemporary German painting and sculpture - by Otto Dix, George Grosz, Oskar Kokoschka, Georg Kolbe, Oscar Pechstein, Egon Schiele, and Karl Schmidt-Rotluff - and School of Paris artists - such as Archipenko, Marc Chagall, Kies van Dongen, Grommaire, Moise Kisling, Aristide Maillol, Henri Matisse, Amedeo Modigliani, Georges Rouault, Maurice Utrillo and Andre Vlaminck. [5] The inclusion of German art must reflect Von Sternberg's Germanic background, but his School of Paris choices were entirely consistent with the basic range of other collectors of his generation who specialised in this latter field. Vladimir Golschmann, the Paris-born resident conductor of the St Louis Symphony, began to collect art in Paris soon after World War I when he became personally acquainted with a number of contemporary painters (Georges Braque, Raoul Dufy, Fernand Léger and Pablo Picasso). [6] His consisted initially of a similar range of the fashionable School of Paris. However, over the years he increasingly concentrated upon Picasso, and eventually amassed 23 pieces by this artist (by 1958 he owned

15 paintings, 5 drawings and 31 prints).[7]

Of the Americans who spent some time domiciled in Paris or Europe one must mention T. Catesby Jones, a Virginian maritime lawyer. He apparently had his early interest in modern French art confirmed when he worked in Paris in the nineteen twenties, when the dealer Jeanne Bucher became an important influence on the direction of his collecting.[8] In addition to the artists cited above his collection of approximately 100 works included works by Andre Bauchant, Jean Lurçat (a particular favourite) and André Masson (Jones' final enthusiasm).[9]

Of those older collectors who amassed works by both Europeans and Americans architect Philip Goodwin, (the co-designer with Edward Durell Stone of the Museum of Modern Art's new building in 1938), became a collector before World War I under the guidance of the dealer Alfred Stieglitz [10] and it was in the same years that A. Conger Goodyear, an industrialist within a family-owned lumber and railroad combine, also commenced collecting.[11] Samuel S. White III, a Philadelphia businessman, studied painting in Paris at the turn of the century, but apparently only began to collect modern art some time later while Donald B. Stralem, a New York investment banker, began to collect in the early nineteen thirties.[12] The collection of White ranged through Paul Cézanne, a number of Fauve Braques, Rouault and Utrillo to Charles Demuth and John Marin.[13]

The "fastidious taste" of Goodwin [14] linked his collection to that of Goodyear, for both were characterised by an emphasis upon works of a modest scale. Both collections included European art ranging from the Post-Impressionists to the early twentieth century

European avant-garde, although the School of Paris of the nineteen tens and nineteen twenties probably formed the bulk of their purchases. Goodwin, for instance, owned works by Giorgio de Chirico, Paul Klee, Leger, Joan Miró and Picasso; [15] while Goodyear owned paintings by Salvador Dali, André Derain, Gromaire, Léger, Matisse and Jules Pascin and sculptures by Gargallo and Maillol (8 pieces by 1953). [16] Both collectors, in addition, acquired early twentieth century American artists, although in this respect Goodwin's taste was somewhat more adventurous than Goodyear's (no doubt due the former's debt to Stieglitz). The former collected American modernists such as Demuth, Arthur Dove, Gaston Lachaise and Marin; whereas Goodyear amassed paintings by Charles Burchfield, Augustus John, Walt Kuhn, Kenneth Hayes Miller, Maurice Sterne and Ben Shahn and sculpture by Alexander Calder, Jacob Epstein and Isami Noguchi. [17]

Although the foregoing individuals may be considered as conservative because their taste remained rooted in the era in which they commenced collecting, when one comes to an examination of the collector of 'on-guard' taste of the nineteen forties and nineteen fifties, it becomes apparent that the taste of the latter differed little from the older generation already discussed. Again there was stress upon the School of Paris of the early twentieth century and American modern art of much the same period. Moreover, such collections demonstrated a comprehensive selection of 'name' artists of the period, and it was the exception to find any particular artist represented by more than a couple of full-scale pieces (paintings and sculptures). Moreover, within such collections there tended to be an emphasis upon decorative qualities such as colour and a bias toward figuration at the expense of cubism or

abstraction. Typical collections which demonstrated the range of work characteristic of 'on-guard taste in the period under consideration are those of Robert H. Tannahill, a Detroit businessman, and Arthur Bradley Campbell, a society figure who founded the Society of Four Arts in Palm Springs.[18] The former by the late nineteen forties had acquired a collection of French painting ranging from Edouard Degas, Modigliani, early Picasso, Auguste Renoir, Rouault, Andre Dunoyer de Segonzac and Chaim Soutine to American works by artists such as Morris Graves, Georgia o'Keefe, Robert Laurent, Marin and Charles Sheeler; [19] the latter in the nineteen forties amassed a collection encompassing the fashionable School of Paris (Braque, Derain, Dali, Matisse, Modigliani, Picasso, Rouault and Soutine) and contemporary American painters such as Darrel Austin, Milton Avery, Thomas Benton, Paul Cadmus and Yasuo Kuniyoshi.[20]

Some 'on-guard' collectors restricted themselves to the European sector. However, this rarely meant that such collectors diverged markedly from the parameters cited above. Moreover, if one examines such collectors it becomes obvious that the boundaries of such taste shifted little between the later nineteen thirties and the later nineteen fifties. A typical representative of those collections commenced in the nineteen thirties is that of Ralph F. Colin, a New York lawyer who began collecting in 1934 with his interior decorator wife and continued, albeit at a somewhat reduced rate from the mid-forties onwards, into the post-war years.[21] By the early nineteen sixties their collection totalled 180 paintings and 60 sculptures representing the School of Paris and included substantial groups of works by Soutine (16), Jean Dubuffet (9), Edouard Vuillard (9), Matisse (7), Picasso (7), Klee (7), Juan Gris

(6) and Rouault (6).[22] A representative sample of the artists characteristic of collections begun a decade or more later is provided by the collection of New York publisher Harry N. Abrams, who in the nineteen forties and nineteen fifties accumulated a group of some 40 French paintings by artists such as Chagall, Matisse, Modigliani, Claude Monet, Picasso, Rouault, Pascin and Camille Pissarro; [23] and by that of Swiss-born Peter and Emily Rübel, who between the early nineteen forties and late nineteen fifties amassed a collection of some 4 dozen works which included works by Braque, Derain, Dufy, Pascin, Picasso, Rouault and Soutine.[24] The collection of Morton G. Neumann, a Chicago businessman, also focused for perhaps a decade upon twentieth century European modern masters. He accumulated significant groups of works by Klee (17), Miró (17), Picasso (25 paintings and many drawings and graphics) and works by Jean Arp, Léger, Matisse and Picabia.[25]

However, a collection which basically fitted the European-oriented norm but demonstrated a partial departure was that of Mrs Harry Lynde Bradley, a Milwaukee businesswoman in the fashion trade who commenced collecting in 1950. Her collection included much the same core painters - Braque, Pierre Bonnard, Dufy (13 works), Léger, Picasso, Utrillo and Jacques Villon - but she also acquired a substantial group of early twentieth century German Expressionism (she concentrated upon the more decorative facet of the latter) by artists such as Lyonel Feininger (20 watercolours) and Gabriella Münter. These works were acquired in both Europe and the United States.[26]

A number of the younger generation who collected both European and American art began by acquiring the latter first and then

broadening their collections to include both. One such collector was Marian Hendrie, who began her collection in the nineteen thirties with contemporary American painting by Demuth, Kuniyoshi, Marin and Max Weber. But in the nineteen forties she increasingly devoted her attention to European painting by artists such as Braque and Rouault (among others).^[27] Ohio businessman Otto L. Spaeth and his wife Eloise first became interested in contemporary American art in the late nineteen twenties (when they made the acquaintance of the artist Boardman Rodgers). In the nineteen forties and nineteen fifties they amassed a collection ranging from the Americans Bellows, Alexander Brook, William Congdon, Feininger, Kuhn, Doris Lee and Weber to European painting from Eugene Delacroix, Degas, Paul Gauguin to Léger, Picasso, Riopelle and Rouault.^[28] The collection of New England painter Clay Bartlett consisted in particular of American realist artists - such as Edward Hopper, Reginald Marsh and Andrew Wyeth - whom Bartlett considered had "served a French apprenticeship", and French work which was Fauvist in flavour - by Braque, Derain, Vlaminck and Suzanne Valadon.^[29]

Collectors of cautious taste who concentrated upon American painting were united by their emphasis upon the older generation or more realist-expressionist American contemporary artists (those who had achieved their mature styles in the nineteen twenties and nineteen thirties). Such collectors would appear to have shared the attitude exemplified in a statement by Robert D. Straus, a Texan business executive, to the effect that he was "prone to steer away from extreme abstract art".^[30] Straus became interested in contemporary art whilst stationed in New York as a soldier during World War II and his collection, built up in the next 2 decades, comprised contemporary American painters such as Graves, Abraham

Rattner and Weber.[31]

The characteristic range of such collections was exemplified by that of Michael Watter, a Philadelphia engineer, who began to collect contemporary American art in the late nineteen forties and amassed works ranging from Stuart Davis, Demuth, Dove and Kuniyoshi to Jacob Lawrence, Ben Shahn, Mitchell Siporin and Karl Zerbe.[32] A similarly broad range of works, some older, some more contemporaneous occurred in the collections of: E. Stanley Marcus, a Dallas department store executive, began to collect American contemporary art in the mid-forties and eventually owned works by Davis, Heliker, Shahn, Sheeler and Ruffino Tamayo;[33] Milton Kramer, a New York doctor; [34] Henry Dreyfuss, a New York industrial designer; and Allan D. Emil, a New York lawyer. In this context one can also mention Anthony Haswell, a Dayton business executive who began to collect contemporary American painting in 1942 when he commissioned Alexander Brook to paint a portrait of his daughter and built up a collection which ranged over Burchfield, Davis, Kuniyoshi, Raphael Soyer and Eugene Speicher.[35] George H. Fitch, after some years of a more general interest in French modern painting, began in the late nineteen forties to concentrate upon painters such as Davis, Demuth and Marin. [36] Edward Kook, president of a manufacturing company, began to collect contemporary American artists such as Shahn in the early nineteen forties (when associated with Joseph Hirshhorn as a member of the latter's "Collectors Club"). [37]

A number of collectors specialising in American art would appear to have been influenced by dealer Edith Halpert's (Downtown Gallery) advice as to the direction of their purchases, even to the

extent of being guided away from their initially somewhat more adventurous collecting directions.^[38] Milton Lowenthal was a young New York lawyer when he and his wife Edith acquired their first painting in 1943.^[39] Their acquisitions were initially widely spread across the spectrum of American contemporary art from Byron Browne and Peter Busa to Davis, Marsden Hartley and Rattner.^[40] However, after a few years, they began to concentrate upon a small band of older-generation American painters such as Davis, Hartley, Rattner and Weber. Over the years they acquired 10 works by Paul Burlin, 7 paintings by Davis, 13 by Hartley, 8 by Rattner and 6 by Weber (together amounting to approximately half their collection).^[41] Similarly, William H. Lane, a Massachusetts businessman, apparently intended to acquire a cross-section of American twentieth century painting when he commenced collecting in the early nineteen fifties. His initial purchases in 1953 included artists as diverse as Feininger, Hans Hofmann, Hartley, Davis, O'Keefe, Franz Kline and Sheeler. However, by the mid-fifties he had begun to concentrate upon a selected number of older (Downtown Gallery) painters such as Sheeler (30 pieces by 1956),^[42] Dove (20 paintings ranging in date from 1911 to 1944), 10 works by O'Keefe, and 13 works by Davis (9 ranging in date from 1911 to 1951/1954).^[43]

One collector who initially fell initially within the boundaries outlined above, but who later broadened out into an historical collection of American art, was Lawrence Fleischman. Another was Dr Irving Levitt, a Detroit paediatrician, whose collection ranged from the eighteenth century to Marin (their first purchase in 1950) and Burchfield.^[44] Fleischman, a Detroit manufacturer and television station licensee, began collecting in

1948 [45] but made his first major purchases in 1950 - a Burchfield, a Davis, a Hopper and a Marin. Initially his attention was focused upon Marin (in 1953 he owned a dozen works ranging in date from 1903 to 1951), Demuth, Jack Levine, Gaston Lachaise, Marsh and Sheeler [46] but over the years he also accumulated a large group of Burchfields (he claimed to own 34 works at one time).[47] From the early nineteen fifties Fleischman added earlier American artists as the precursors to his more contemporary possessions. Initial purchases of John Sloan and Maurice Prendergast were followed by Anchutz, Thomas Eakins and Albert P. Ryder. Eventually (in 1960) the pre-twentieth century component of his collection had grown to form approximately half of the total of 250 paintings.[48]

'On-guard' taste need not be restricted to the nature of the aesthetic choices made, but can also manifest itself in an emphasis upon works of a modest character and intimacy of scale: works which, to use the words of collector Edward M. M. Warburg, a scion of the banking family who first became interested in modern art as an undergraduate in the nineteen twenties [49] and purchased his first painting (a Picasso) in 1930 - 1931, were

"chosen to be lived with, and form an integral part of ...
my surroundings.[50]

One manner in which this kind of caution manifested itself was in a bias toward works on paper and small-scale sculptures. If paintings were acquired then they tended to be modest in scale. Warburg's collection, works on paper or small-scale sculptures,[51] ranged from Klee, Lachaise, Lehmbruck and Maillol to Adolf Dehn and Diego Rivera. Joseph Shulman, a New York architect who commenced collecting in 1936 on the occasion of his first trip to Europe, focused upon representing the 'names' of the early twentieth century School of Paris in graphics or paintings on paper - and owned works

by Braque, Dufy, Juan Gris, Edouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier), Marie Laurencin, Léger, Metzinger, a group of drawings by Modigliani, Picasso (ranging in date from 1905 - 1946), Renoir, Rouault and Toulouse-Lautrec.^[52] Both Louis E. Stern and Edward Hanley had backgrounds as bibliophiles before either began to collect fine art (in Stern's case this was in the later nineteen thirties).^[53] Stern amassed groups of related works in a range of media (paintings, sketches on paper, and sculptures relating to paintings) by Bonnard, Chagall (by whom he acquired several dozen works), Klee, Lipchitz, Picasso, Renoir and Rouault.^[54] Dr T. Edward Hanley, who was employed in the utilities business in northern Pennsylvania and became involved in fine art collecting in the nineteen twenties, owned works ranging from the Peale Family of the eighteenth century to a large group of Epstein sculptures and works by Childe Hassam, Hartley, Everett Shinn and Lachaise.^[55] The collection of more than 70 pieces owned by Dr and Mrs Leslie Maitland, Hollywood residents who began to collect in the nineteen thirties, distinctively included a handful of graphics by pre-twentieth century European artists to supplement their more contemporaneous acquisitions which ranged through Jean Arp, Bellows, Brancusi, Dali and Clement Orozco.^[56] However, the modest character of most of their possessions, and the emphases which these collectors placed upon the 'minor' media, meant that the total of works amassed by these individuals tended to be large: Sterne, by the time of his death in 1962, had amassed approximately 700 pieces, while by the mid-sixties Hanley had amassed approximately 1000 works in various media.

A small number of collections are worth discussing together because they had individualist emphases which distinguished them

from the 'philatelic' tendency to which the average consensual collection was prone. But one cannot discuss them outside the context of cautious taste, for the broad outlines of their collections still fall within the parameters of well-known early twentieth century European (in particular the School of Paris) and the more conservative American twentieth century art. Among such collections is the small (approximately 2 dozen works) one formed by Charles Laughton, the British-born film actor who went to Hollywood in the 1937 - 1938 and began to acquire modern art in the early nineteen forties. Although it ranged conventionally from Impressionism (one of the stars of his collection was Renoir's "Judgement of Paris", 1913 - 14) to the School of Paris, [57] it was distinguished by Laughton's enthusiasm for the work of Morris Graves, to whose work he was introduced during World War II and from whom he purchased a substantial group of watercolours and drawings between the early nineteen forties and the nineteen fifties. By 1947 Laughton owned 7 pieces by this painter, while nearly 4 dozen were available in a 1966 auction of his collection.[58] The main thrust of the collection of Clifford Odets, who became known as a radical playwright in the mid-thirties but did not start collecting until 1938 when he moved to Hollywood to work as a screenwriter, [59] was the School of Paris (with works by Dufy, Gris, Gromaire, Picasso, Soutine) with the addition of some contemporary American painting (Pascin and Gatch) [60] (200 works in 1947). However, Odet's collection was mainly remarkable for its large representation of Klee. In 1951 he owned approximately 120 works by this artist, [61] which was then the largest group in the country. It was dispersed in the early to mid-nineteen fifties because Odets was unable and/or unwilling to pay the high prices which this artist increasingly commanded.[62] With the decline in Odet's

involvement with collecting one notes the rise of Frederick C. Schang, who began his collection in 1945 after leaving the services. However, it differed from that of Odets in that it eventually consisted almost exclusively of Klee, with a few works of the early twentieth century acting as a background.[63]

A number of others fall within this grouping. The collection of Maurice Culberg, a Chicago businessman who became involved with modern art in the mid-forties under the influence of Chicago artist Rudolph Weisenborn, was distinguished by its large representation of Dubuffet's work, for by 1952 he owned 26 examples out of a total collection of 75 pieces.[64] John L. Senior was an aeronautical engineer and airline president who began collecting in the late nineteen forties and thenceforth bought rapidly and en masse for about half a decade.[65] His collection, which included a number of pieces by Brancusi, Braque, Gris, Miró and Tamayo, was particularly noted for its representation of Mondrian's work (at least 12 works by 1951).[66] The collection of Gerald B. Cantor, an investment banker who began to collect in 1946, became dominated by one artist, Rodin, although until the mid-fifties it was made up of a fairly standard mix of late nineteenth and early twentieth century French painting, with the addition of some early twentieth century German painters such as Max Beckmann and Ludwig Kirchner.[67]

The foregoing collections, with their emphasis upon the art-historical and commercial accreditation of the artists therein, their effective bias toward the decorative and figurative, and their timorousness with regard to expense or scale, can be regarded as exemplars of an uncontroversially 'cautious' taste.

However, there were other collectors who, despite the superficially more adventurous appearance of their collections, especially their greater emphasis upon early twentieth century cubist developments, should also be located within the parameters of consensual taste. The reason for this lies in the fact that the art and artists entering these collections were, to recall Pulitzer's words "in their reputations at their peak at that time".^[68] Because of the critical battles fought on behalf of early twentieth century avant-gardes in New York in the nineteen twenties and nineteen thirties, and the affirmation of their art-historical importance provided by exhibitions such as the 1936 Museum of Modern Art survey "Cubism and Abstract Art", for much of the period under discussion a coupling of somewhat more radical stylistic developments with the assurance of critical and commercial approbation was synonymous with an emphasis upon early twentieth century Cubist and abstract experiments.

The three major collectors who fall within this category all began to collect in the mid-thirties. The first of these is Nelson Rockefeller, who was best known as a politician, although he was peripherally involved in the family's business concerns.^[69] He initially became concerned with modern art via his mother's involvement in the foundation of the Museum of Modern Art,^[70] but his collection only began after his mother Abby presented him with a Matisse in the early nineteen thirties. The central enthusiasm of Rockefeller's collecting over many years was Cubism and its derivatives and the artist for whom he had the greatest admiration, and consequently emphasised in his acquisitions, was Picasso. The Picassos acquired by Rockefeller over the years ranged from a 1907 "Head" through a number of Cubist paintings such as

"Girl with a Mandolin" (1910), to "The Striped Bodice" of 1943; plus assorted sculptures, prints and drawings.^[71] Other early twentieth century modernists by whom he built up substantial groups of works were Braque, Gris, Léger, Klee, Matisse, and Miró.

The year 1936 saw the first real collecting involvement on the part of both the St Louis-based newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer Jr and G. David Thompson, known initially as an investment banker and later as an important figure in the Pittsburgh steel industry. The former had studied fine art at Harvard in the early nineteen thirties and made his first acquisition (a Modigliani portrait) in this year, the latter had purchased a Klee from the Carnegie Show in 1928 and had had some previous interest in American contemporary and naïf painters.^[72] The tone of Pulitzer's collecting career was set in the later nineteen thirties as Cubism and early twentieth century German art. His collection grew to be quite large - in 1949 it included 68 works, but by 1958 had grown to include 140 pieces - and included the work of Braque (5 paintings, of which the most recent was "Flowers and Palette" of 1943), Beckmann (5 works, of which 3 were acquired in the nineteen fifties), Klee (4), Matisse (two oils including "Bathers with a Turtle" (1908) purchased from a 1939 auction of "degenerate" art held in Switzerland), Modigliani (3), Picasso (12 works, of which the latest was the 1953 "Seated Woman"), and Rouault (3 oils).^[73] Thompson's collection was somewhat larger, for it totalled 300 pieces by the late nineteen fifties. Thompson was apparently determined that he would not try "to own [only] a painting by each of the better known contemporary artists" and so restricted his acquisitions to a selected number of artists.^[74] By the late nineteen fifties, via purchases in both New York and Europe, he had built up especially

large groups of works by Alberto Giacometti and Klee (Thompson claimed that he owned approximately 100 pieces by each artist); and owned substantial groups by artists such as Léger, Matisse, Miró, Picasso and Kurt Schwitters.^[75] Dorothy Miller has characterised Rockefeller's collecting as "omnivorous" ^[76] and this description would appear to be most fitting, for his collection became enormous - in 1950 it included 240 items; by 1958 it totalled some 1000 pieces; ^[77] and by 1966 it included 500 paintings and sculptures, 900 prints and drawings and 1000 pieces of primitive sculpture. This large number of sculptures had begun to enter Rockefeller's collection in the late nineteen forties when he began to build up 'mini-surveys' of Arp, Calder, Giacometti, Maillol, Henry Moore, Elie Nadelman, Louis Nevelson and Isami Noguchi. ^[78]

The fact that the position of the 'on-guard' collector within the support system was determined basically by the presentation of modern art within the institutional and dealer-gallery frameworks is particularly evident in the case of the entry of post-war developments, whether American or European, into such collections. It would appear that a sequence of museum exhibitions - such as the 1952 "Fifteen Americans" show mounted by the Museum of Modern Art, the 1953 "Younger European Painters" at the Guggenheim Museum, and the twin "New Decade" exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1955 - played an important role in validating post-war abstraction. Also significant was the drift of certain American post-war artists from galleries of the 'gatekeeper' type to those of the 'promoter'. This was relevant because the 'on-guard' collector typically only amassed works which had already built up some 'côte'. The apparent interest in newer developments by consensual collectors was also helped by the efforts

of dealers to in New York to reinforce the critical position of artists within the New York context by referring to the status of these within the European market.

Indeed, the collections of some individuals provide a useful barometer with which to judge an improvement in the critical and commercial reputations of certain stylistic tendencies or particular artists. For instance, the collection of Lee Ault, a New York manufacturer and publisher (Quadrangle Press and Art in America) who had become interested in modern art during a honeymoon trip to Paris in the mid-thirties (his first purchase was a Gauguin), was for many quite representative of French-biased 'on-guard' taste. By the mid-forties his collection (one of the largest of its kind in the country after that of Joseph Pulitzer Jr) included works by Braque, Chagall, Cézanne, de Chirico, Derain, Dufy, Laurencin, Léger, Lurçat, Matta, Matisse, Modigliani, Picasso (at least 14 paintings by 1944), Rouault, Soutine, Tamayo, Utrillo and Vivin.

[79] However, from the latter nineteen forties onwards, Ault began to venture more into the realm of abstraction, with purchases of older or earlier artists such as Matta and Mondrian (among others) and post-war artists such as Nicholas de Staël and Theodoros Stamos.[80] The collections of Ira Haupt, a New York stockbroker, and Charles Zadok, a Milwaukee-based retailer, also demonstrated a shift from the realm of the more conventional and decorative into that of more abstract developments, whether of the early twentieth century or the post-war period. From the late nineteen forties Zadok began to acquire works by, for example, Kandinsky and Hans Hartung. [81] Haupt from the mid-fifties began to feature post-war European and American artists such as de Staël, de Kooning, Levine, Mathieu, Pollock, Soulages and Tobey as well as Kandinsky and Mondrian.[82]

At about the same time Pulitzer too began, for the first time, to buy the work of post-war artists (particularly Italian) and acquired works by Afro (6 pieces), Biroli, Capogrossi, Cremonini and Marini (3 pieces). He also more than doubled his holdings of American art, although these still never amounted to only 10 per cent of the total collection.[83]

A collector whose career demonstrated a similar pattern, albeit telescoped because of his relatively late start in this activity was Ben Heller, a New York businessman, who began to collect the School of Paris in the early nineteen fifties because he thought this the art then best known and most readily available.[84] However, he commenced buying American post-war paintings in 1952 - 1953. His first purchases were by Gottlieb and Pollock, but he subsequently acquired works by all the major Abstract Expressionist painters. In 1969 he owned at least 7 Rothkos and 3 Pollocks plus several works each by Philip Guston, de Kooning, Kline, Robert Motherwell and Barnett Newman. [85]

In a number of cases the specific involvement of a particular museum professional or dealer is observable or acknowledged in the development of a collection. Morton Neumann has acknowledged his debt to the Parisian dealer Pierre Loeb, and the participation of Alfred Barr and Dorothy Miller in Nelson Rockefeller's collecting is well-known. Indeed, the latter's initial involvement with post-war American art may well be due to his links with these two museum curators for he acquired his first 'mature' "Abstract Expressionist work, Pollock's "Number 16, 1950", in 1951, very soon after the Museum of Modern Art had itself purchased its first example of the kind. From the mid-fifties onwards, in line with the

changing critical and commercial climate for such works, he acquired a substantial group of paintings by William Baziotes, Adolf Gottlieb, Kline, de Kooning, Pollock and Mark Rothko.[86]

Another two collectors would appear to have been considerably influenced by their links with the Modern. William A. M. Burden, a New York venture capitalist who had begun to collect European painting in the early nineteen forties, [87] was encouraged by the 1952 Modern exhibition "Fifteen Americans" to divert from what Dorothy Miller has described as his "timorous taste", and bought a number of works by artists featured in this exhibition (Richard Lippold, Pollock and Bradley Walker Tomlin). Miller ascribed this change of direction to Burden's intention to bequeath his collection to the Museum of Modern Art, [88] and a similar reason may lie behind the decision of fellow-trustee Philip Goodwin to acquire works by several post-war American artists such as Baziotes, Graves and Pollock in the nineteen fifties. [89]

Even on occasions when a collection was presented as "experimental", as was that of Blanchette Rockefeller (Mrs John III), a closer examination reveals that the choices made owed a great deal to professional advice. This particular collection appears to have come about as a direct result of the efforts of Nelson Rockefeller to involve another family member in the Museum of Modern Art. It was begun in 1949, after Blanchette Rockefeller had been introduced to New York galleries by Barr and Philip Johnson (an architect-trustee of the Museum). The first works procured as a result of this introductory process were a Marini bronze and a Rothko painting, followed in 1950 by a Tomlin and a Motherwell. The collection remained very small, no more than 20 works, and was

presented in a specially commissioned "guest house" designed by Johnson.^[90] However, Rockefeller's involvement in this area was short lived (4 years) and this, coupled with the fact that her collection quickly passed into the Museum of Modern Art's hands, suggests that this collection was fundamentally an exercise guided by Barr on behalf of his general tastemaking efforts.^[91]

A final point which must be made, however, is that this drift was exacerbated by the massive escalation in the prices of the School of Paris and "modern masters" which made it imperative for some collectors to seek new avenues of supply for their collections. In some cases this must be seen as raising simple financial difficulties for the collector concerned. For instance, collector Walter Bareiss was apparently forced out of his favoured area of "classical moderns" in the latter nineteen forties by the escalation in prices for such art and his reluctance to spend more than \$5,000 on any single purchase. Instead he moved into the areas of German Expressionist art ^[92] and contemporaneous American abstraction (the first such work he acquired was a Pollock drawing in 1949).^[93] By 1958 his collection consisted of some 200 works ranging from the Courbet which had been his first major purchase to de Kooning, Braque and Reg Butler.^[94] Moreover, as the price of the European 'modern masters' escalated sharply in the latter nineteen fifties Neumann started to acquire Dada and Surrealist objects (in the main acquired from Tristan Tzara and Man Ray), and post-war American abstraction (which he appears to have first become interested in subsequent to a meeting in Chicago with the artists Kline and Guston in 1957). From then on his collecting activity was concentrated upon contemporaneous American production.^[95]

However, movement from the area of early twentieth century "modern masters" to more recent accredited art or, alternatively, an emphasis upon 'modesty', can be seen as a consequence of self-imposed restrictions attributable to a background which frowned upon art as a frivolous luxury expenditure. In the context of the latter, E.M.M. Warburg was confined in the scope of his purchases by a self-imposed a price ceiling of \$2,000 on any single purchase. [96] Nelson Rockefeller was apparently reluctant to pay the rapidly escalating prices asked for good examples of his first love, Cubism, and ceased to acquire such art in the nineteen fifties.[97] It was this reluctance which lay behind his move into more modestly-priced areas such as sculpture and primitive art.

The foregoing paragraph gives one hint as to why at least some collectors exhibited 'on-guard' rather than 'blue-chip' taste - an unwillingness to spend the kind of money necessary to amass works of the latter status. But this only really applied to those individuals whose socio-economic background situated them within the upper class or even the uppermost wealth elite - for instance, Nelson Rockefeller or Edward M. M. Warburg. However, this category was dominated by professionals and businesspersons who were located, in the main, slightly lower down the socio-economic scale, within the parameters of the upper-middle class, and this placed some pecuniary restrictions upon the available collecting options.

The socio-economic standing of the majority of these collectors also had a number of other, non-economic, consequences upon the buying preferences of collectors of 'on-guard' taste. First, the prevalence of the businessperson in the category of cautious taste

would appear to indicate some correlation between this approach and those sections of the community which had little tradition of art patronage. In this context one can recall the reservations expressed by critic Eugenia Lea Whitridge in 1943, when she stated that she thought that those unaccustomed to art would need "education for buying".^[98] Moreover, status was a consideration, for, although these collectors did not come from the upper *élite* of the very wealthy, a considerable proportion of them, particularly those resident in New York, were of a sufficient social standing to move within the circles from which institutional trustees were drawn and of an economic bracket which might make the fiscal advantages of patronage attractive. The consequence of this was that such collectors were likely to consider the critical standing of the works they acquired, in the intention or expectation that their collections, either in part or in whole, would eventually enter the public domain, and encouraged collectors to go for that art which was the most prestigious.^[99] The final conclusion must be that the 'on-guard' collector was inclined to rely more upon the guidance of tastemakers and validators than those collectors with an active involvement in the arts and to acquire work which had both an art-historical reputation and a 'côte'.

NOTES

- 1 Joseph Pulitzer Jr: Dennis Barrie, interview, 11/1/1978. Archives of American Art.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Arthur Millier: "Actors as Collectors" - Art Digest: 15/2/1949; p 10.
- 4 Its formation appears to have paralleled Von Sternberg's success in the motion picture world, for as his career declined in the late 1940s his collection was dispersed by auction in 1949 (he died in 1962).
- 5 Most of his purchases appear to have been made from German dealers such as Alfred Flechtheim (in Germany) and J.B. Neumann and Karl Nierendorf (in Germany and New York) - "Josef Von Sternberg Collection", exh. cat., Arts Club of Chicago, 1/11 - 26/11/1946; "Josef Von Sternberg Collection of Modern Paintings, Drawings, Modern, African and Asiatic Sculpture", exh. cat., Parke-Bernett Galleries, New York, 22/11/1949.
- 6 One of his first professional positions was in 1919 as a conductor for Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. He emigrated to the United States in the 1930s. Thomas B. Hess: "Avant-Garde Conductor Collects" - Art News: XLVI (1947 - 48): 2; pp 30, 31.
- 7 "Private Collection of Mr and Mrs Vladimir Golschmann", exh. cat., Cincinnati Modern Art Society, 30/4 - 1/6/1947; "Vladimir Golschmann Collection", exh. cat., Paul Rosenberg Gallery, 6/10 - 25/10/1947; "The Vladimir Golschmann Collection", exh. cat., Baltimore Museum of Art, June - October 1958; Jo Gibbs: "Golschmann Collection Viewed in New York" - Art Digest: 15/10/1947; p 13.
- 8 Thomas C. Colt Jr: "Jones: Advance-Guard Adventures" - Art News: XLVII (1948 - 49): 1; pp 19, 55, 56.
- 9 Notes on T. Catesby Jones, 19/2/1945, Germaine Seligmann Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled; "T Catesby Jones Collection", exh. cat., Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1948; "Modern Paintings Given to Virginia" - Art Digest: 1/7/1947; p 11.
- 10 Russell Lynes: Good Old Modern; pp 190 - 194.
- 11 He became a trustee of the Albright Art Gallery in 1912 and was later a founding trustee and first president of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Russell Lynes: *ibid*; pp 8 - 10, 103 - 107.
- 12 "Four Collectors" - Art News: XLVIII (1949 - 50): 5; p 22 .
- 13 "The Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 107. Aline B. Louchheim: "The Main Line Collects" - Art News: XLVI (1947 - 48): 5; p 15.
- 14 Lynes: *op cit*; p 191.
- 15 "An Architect on the Skyline" - Town and Country: December 1941; p 78. "Museum of Modern Art: Visits to Private Collections, Philip L Goodwin", 10/5/1950 & 12/5/1954, Museum of Modern Art, Library Archive. "The Philip L Goodwin Collection", Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XXVI (1958): 1; pp 4 - 12.
- 16 Museum of Modern Art: Visits to Private Collections - A Conger Goodyear Collection, 18/12/1953, Museum of Modern Art, Library Archive.
- 17 A number of works in his collection were donated to the Museum of Modern Art, but the bulk of his collection went to the Albright-Knox Museum in the mid-sixties. "Paintings, Sculpture, Drawings, Prints collected by A Conger Goodyear", exh. cat., Albright-Knox Art Gallery, 30/4 - 5/6/1966.
- 18 Other collections including much the same kind of work, and

- formed in much the same years, included those of:
 businessman William E. Campbell (also known to the public as the novelist William March), whose collection by the mid-fifties included 9 paintings by Soutine, 5 by Rouault, 3 by Bombois and other works by Modigliani, Vlaminck, Braque, Bauchant, Picasso, Utrillo and Vivin. "William E Campbell" - Art Digest: 1/11/1954; p 22;
- Henry H. Church, a New York manufacturer whose collection featured Bonnard, Braque, Cézanne, Dufy, Feininger, Gris, Grommaire, Guillin, Léger, Miro, Pascin, Picasso, Renoir, Rouault, Utrillo and Vlaminck. "Coming Sale - Parke-Bernett, 25/1/1971" - Art News: LIX (1960): 9; p 22;
- Alex Hillman, a New York publisher who commenced collecting in the nineteen thirties. The main thrust of his collection (which included some 60 pieces by the mid-fifties) was French painting including Renoir, Cézanne (5 examples in 1952), Klee, Matisse and Picasso - American Federation of Arts: Private Collection Exhibitions - Mr and Mrs Alex Hillman, 28/4/1956 (typescript); "Alex L. Hillman, Ex-Publisher, 67" - New York Times: 27/3/1983; p 47; Vivien Raynor: "Hillman Family Collection at the Newark Museum" - New York Times: 26/8/1984: IX; p 24;
- Hollywood based film agent Sam Jaffe, who began collecting in the immediate post-war years;
- New York lawyer William B. Jaffe, whose collection ranged from Boudin, Degas and Guillin to Picasso, Valtat and Vertes - "Museum of Modern Art: Visits to Private Collections - Collection of Mr and Mrs William B Jaffe", 21/5/1952 & 9/5/1955. Museum of Modern Art, Library Archive;
- Mary E. Johnson, a "newspaper woman" from Cincinnati, who from the early nineteen forties built a collection featuring Chagall, De Staël, Maillol, Matisse, Modigliani, Mondrian and Rouault. "Cincinnati's New Collectors" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 15; pp 14 - 15, "Who Collects in Ohio" - Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): 12; p 55, "Cincinnati's Collectors in New York" - Art in America: XLIX (1961): 3; pp 60 - 61;
- 19 Robert H. Tannahill Collection, May 1941; and subsequent correspondence and sales records of the 1940s in - Germaine Seligmann Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. Correspondence, 1945 - 1956, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 20 "Collection of Arthur Bradley Campbell", sale catalogue, Parke-Bernett Galleries, New York, 27/10/1954. "Palm Beach has Big Season" - Life: 4/3/1946; p 33.
 - 21 Ralph Colin: Paul Cummings, interview, 15/8/1969, Archives of American Art.
 - 22 Ralph F. Colin: Paul Cummings, interview, 15/8/1969, Archives of American Art; Ralph F. Colin: interview with author, 17/8/1984. For details of the collection refer to: "Museum of Modern Art - New York Private Collections, Mr and Mrs Ralph F Colin", 1951. "MOMA: Summer Show Private Collections" - Art Digest: 1/8/1951; p 17. "Rockefeller, Whitney, Senior, Odets, Colin" - Art News: L (1951 - 52): 4; pp 34 - 37, 60. "Manet to Arp - The Colin Collection" - Vogue: 15/4/1960; pp 108 - 110, 148, 151. "The Colin Collection", exh. cat., M. Knoedler & Co, New York, May 1960.
 - 23 "Harry N. Abrams Family Collection", exh. cat., Jewish Museum, 29/6 - 5/9/1966. "An Interview with Harry N Abrams" - Arts: XLVII (196): 1; pp 49 - 51.
 - 24 "Maîtres de la Première Génération du Vingtième Siècle", exh.

- cat., Swiss Institute for Art Research, Zurich (exhibition held at Perls Gallery, New York, 13/3 - 13/4/1957). "The Rubel Collection" - Arts: XXXI (19): 6; pp 35, 36, 39.
- 25 Sam Hunter: "Morton G Neumann: A Profile", in: "The Morton G Neumann Family Collection", Vols I & II, National Gallery of Art, Washington D. C., 31/8 - 31/12/1980. "Morton Neumann: How the Hell Did I Collect it All?" - Art News: 1980: 5; pp 90 - 93.
 - 26 "Collection of Mrs Harry Lynde Bradley", exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Centre, 1968. "Personal Selections from the Mrs Harry Lynde Bradley Collection", exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Centre, 1975.
 - 27 "Cincinnati's New Collectors" - Art News: XLVI (1947 - 48): 15; pp 14 - 15. "Who Collects in Ohio and What: Exhibited at Dayton" - Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): 12; p 33. "Cincinnati Collectors in New York" - Art in America: XLIX: 3; pp 60 - 61.
 - 28 "Spaeth Collection", exh. cat., Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, October 1952. "Otto L Spaeth" - Art Digest: July 1953; p 12. "The Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 103. Otto L. Spaeth Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. Eloise Spaeth: Paul Cummings, interview, 6/2 & 9/3/1973, Archives of American Art.
 - 29 "Inside New England's Taste" - Art News: XLVIII (1949 - 50): 4; pp 30 -31. "Twentieth Century Art in New England", exh. cat., Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, 6/5 - 30/6/1948.
 - 30 "Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 109. "Executive View" - Art in America: XLV: 1; pp 52 - 53.
 - 31 "The Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 109. "Art and Industry: Executive view" - Art in America: XLV (1957): 1; pp 52 - 53. Correspondence, 1952, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. "The Robert D Straus Collection", exh. cat., Texas University Art Museum, 1966.
 - 32 "Philadelphia Private Collections II", exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1950.
 - 33 This emphasis formed the majority of his collection, although he did acquire works by early twentieth century German painters in the 1950s. "Some Businessmen Collect Contemporary Art", exh. cat., Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, 6/4 - 27/4/1952. "Solid U.S. Citizens Teach Texans How To Collect" - Art Digest: 1/4/1952; p 13. Correspondence, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 34 Correspondence between Edith G. Halpert and Milton Kramer, 1940s, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 35 "Who Collects in Ohio and What: Exhibited at Dayton" - Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): 12; p 55. "The Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 105.
 - 36 "The Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 110. Correspondence, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 37 "Some Businessmen Collect Contemporary Art", exh. cat., Dallas Museum of Fine Arts: 6/4 - 27/4/1952. "Solid U. S. Citizens Teach Texans How to Collect - Art Digest: 1/4/1952; p 9. "The Benefactors: Three Twentieth Century Patrons of the Arts - Solomon R Guggenheim, Joseph H Hirshhorn, Roy R Neuberger", exh. cat., Brainerd Art Gallery, 19/10 - 9/11/1980.
 - 38 Robert D. Straus: letter to Edith Halpert, 7/1/1952, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 39 Apparently they were inspired to collect American painting by their visits to the 1943 exhibition "Artists for Victory" at the Metropolitan Museum, because they felt then that American art was demonstrably the equal of European - Edith & Milton Lowenthal: interview with author, 17/9/1984.

- 40 Edith & Milton Lowenthal: interview with author, 17/9/1984.
- 41 "Edith and Milton Lowenthal Collection", exh. cat., Whitney Museum of American Art, 1/10 - 2/11/1952; "Modernist Art from the Edith and Milton Lowenthal Collection", Brooklyn Museum of Art, 2/3 - 10/5/1981. B. H. Friedman: "The New Collector: 3 Typical Collections" - Art in America: XLVI (1958): 2; pp 13 - 15.
- 42 Edith G. Halpert, letter to Hilton Kramer, 9/3/1956, Downtown Gallery Papers, unfiled.
- 43 "The Lane Collection: Twentieth Century Paintings in the American Tradition", exh. cat., Boston Institute of Contemporary Art, 13/4 - 7/8/1983.
- 44 Milton Esterow: "Collectors: Dr and Mrs Irving Levitt" - Art in America: LVIII (1970): May/June; pp 72 - 73.
- 45 He had acquired a small number of European and American graphics before this date, but it was apparently his wife, who had attended art school, who encouraged Fleischman to concentrate upon the field of American art. Lawrence Fleischman: Paul Cummings, interview, 28/2/70, Archives of American Art.
- 46 "Mr & Mrs Lawrence A Fleischman Collection of American Paintings", exh. cat., University of Michigan Art Museum, 15/11 - 6/12/1953. "Collection in Progress - 125 Works from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman", exh. cat., Detroit Institute of Arts, July 1955. E. P. Richardson: "Collections: 4 Environments" - Art in America: XLVI (1958): 2; pp 32, 34.
- 47 Lawrence Fleischman: Paul Cummings, interview, 28/2/1970, Archives of American Art.
- 48 "American Painting 1760 - 1960", exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Centre, 3/3 - 3/4/1960. "Romantics at Milwaukee" - Time: 29/2/1960; p 86. "Selections from the Lawrence and Barbara Fleischman Collection of American Art", exh. cat., University of Arizona Art Gallery, 1/2 - 29/3/1964. "The Fleischman Collection" - Artforum: II: 9; pp 37 - 39.
- 49 He and a fellow student, Lincoln Kirsten, helped to found a Society of Contemporary Art which staged loan exhibitions of Calder and Lachaise - Edward M. M. Warburg: Paul Cummings, interview, 13/5/1971, Archives of American Art.
- 50 Edward M. M. Warburg: "Statement of a Collector", Columbia Museum of Art, Carolina, 1960 - Edward M. M. Warburg Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 51 For full details of his purchases, which totalled 100 pieces over 3 decades, refer to: Edward M M Warburg Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 52 He began to acquire Jeanneret's work (two-dimensional pieces from the last 30 years of his life) when in 1951 he made his second trip to Europe, and made the artist's acquaintance. At the same he became interested in the work of a number of contemporary Italian sculptors. "Selections from the Joseph Shulman Collection", exh. cat., Wadsworth Atheneum, 5/3 -13/4/1975.
- 53 In fact Stern persisted with an interest in artist-illustrated books, which formed a counterpoint and supplement to the fine art in his collection.
- 54 Stern did acquire a number of works by younger artists, predominantly American, but these purchase were no more than a tiny percentage of the whole assemblage. "The Louis E Stern Collection", exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum of Art, 25/9/1962 - 10/3/1963. "Louis E Stern Collection" - Arts: November 1962; p 56. John Canaday: "Special Problem -Exhibition in Brooklyn Poses a Question" - New York Times: 30/9/1962; p 284.
- 55 "Selections from the Collection of Dr and Mrs T Edward Hanley",

- exh. cat., Gallery of Modern Art, New York, 3/1 - 12/3/1967.
- 56 "Great Art ... in Four California Houses" - Vogue: 1/2/1945; p 128 - 137.
 - 57 "Charles Laughton's Collection" - Vogue: 1/2/1945; p 137. Arthur Millier: "Laughton, Art Lover" - Art Digest: 15/12/1949; pp 9, 10.
 - 58 "Laughton-Lanchester Collection, Sale of collection of Morris Graves Watercolours and Drawings", sale catalogue, Parke-Bernett Galleries, New York, 10/10/1966.
 - 59 Odets also had a parallel career as a painter (he exhibited several times in New York in the 1940s). "Hoping for Accidents" - Time: 10/2/1947; p 28.
 - 60 "New York Private Collections", exh. cat., Museum of Modern Art, Summer 1951. "MOMA: Summer Exhibition Private Collections" - Art Digest: 1/8/1951; p 17. "Rockefeller, Whitney, Senior, Odets, Colin" - Art News: L (1951 - 52): 4; pp 34 - 37, 60.
 - 61 Frederick C. Schang: letter to the author, n. d. (1984).
To build up this group as early as he did Odets relied heavily upon 2 dealers, J. B. Neumann and Karl Nierendorf. As such an important collector Odets appears to have had first refusal, at least on occasion, on Klees on offer by J. B. Neumann. Correspondence, J B Neumann Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number NJBN 3.
 - 62 Odets complained in correspondence that up to 4 times the prices he had paid originally were being demanded. Aline B. Saarinen Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number 2069 - 2072.
 - 63 Information obtained from correspondence between author and Schang, undated, 1984. For details of works featured in Schang's collection see "Museum of Modern Art: Visits to Private Collections - Frederick C Schang", 16/5/1955, Museum of Modern Art, Library Archive.
 - 64 "Chicago's Fabulous Collectors" - Life: 27/10/1952; p 90. Judith Goldman: "Collecting in Chicago - Love Affairs with Art" - Art News: LXXVIII (1979): 2; p 46.
Janis describes Culberg's business as providing an income sufficient to purchase a number of works annually - Sidney Janis: Paul Cummings, interview, 25/7/1972, Archives of American Art.
 - 65 "The Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 105.
 - 66 "New York Private Collections", exh. cat., Museum of Modern Art, Summer 1951. "MOMA: Summer Exhibition Private Collections" - Art Digest: 1/8/1951; p 17. "Rockefeller, Whitney, Senior, Odets, Colin" - Art News: L (1951 - 52): 4; pp 34 - 37, 60.
 - 67 Cantor became involved in the field of Rodin scholarship and eventually funded a scholarship in this area in the mid-fifties (after he had bought copies of "Eternal Spring" and "The Kiss". B. Gerald Cantor: Business Committee for the Arts News: No 25 (April 1974); p 1.
 - 68 Joseph Pulitzer Jr: Dennis Barrie, interview, 11/1/1978, Archives of American Art.
 - 69 William Manchester: "Nelson Rockefeller's Moral Heritage" - Harpers: May 1958; pp 25 - 30+. "Best Neighbour" (Profile of Nelson Rockefeller) - New Yorker: 11/4 & 18/4/1942; p 23 ff.. Richard Austin Smith: "The Rockefeller Brothers" - Fortune: February & March 1955. "A Voter's Choice of Millionaires" - Life: 22/9/1958; pp 104 - 128.
 - 70 Nelson became involved in 1929, and was to remain associated with this institution for many years - first as a trustee with the Junior Advisory Committee, then as President from 1939 - 41 and 1946 - 53.

- 71 In the mid-fifties Rockefeller commissioned Picasso to design a number of tapestries based upon his most famous paintings, including the aforementioned "Girl with a Mandolin" - "The Nelson A Rockefeller Collection: Masterpieces of Modern Art"; pp 12 - 26.
- 72 He patronised local naif painters such as John Kane, and exhibited and sold his work in a small gallery alongside his house - Dorothy Miller: Paul Cummings, interview, 18/5/1971, Archives of American Art. Correspondence between Clifford Odets and J. B. Neumann, J. B. Neumann Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number NJBN 2.
- 73 Louise V. Chrysler: "Modern Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture Collected by Louise and Joseph Pulitzer Jr", Vols I & II, 1957 - 1958. Perry T. Rathbone: "Journalist-Collector: A Nose for the New" - Art News: LVI (1957- 58): 2; pp 32, 62, 63. "Collector's Choice" - Time: 15/4/1957; pp 100 - 101. "The Pulitzer Collection" - Arts: XXXI: 7; pp 35 - 38. "Mr & Mrs Pulitzer Live with a Growing Art Collection" - Vogue: May 1957; pp 160 - 163. William S. Eisendrath: "Painting and Sculpture of the School of Paris in the Collection of Mr and Mrs Joseph Pulitzer Jr of St Louis" - Connoisseur: September 1968; pp 26, 30 - 35. Rosamund Bernier: "Une Collection du Middle West" - L'Oeil: December 1967; pp 30 - 40.
- 74 "One Hundred Paintings from the G. David Thompson Collection", exh. cat., Solomon R Guggenheim Museum, May - August 1961.
- 75 Solomon R Guggenheim Museum: ibid. "Collectie Thompson uit Pittsburgh", exh. cat., Haags Gemeentemuseum, 17/2 - 9/4/1961; "G David Thompson Collection" - Arts Yearbook: 5 (1960); p 96. "A Millionaire Amid his Moderns" - Life: 16/5/1960; pp 80 - 81.
- 76 Dorothy Miller: Paul Cummings, interview, 16/6/1971, Archives of American Art.
- 77 Saarinen: op cit; p 387.
- 78 "Nelson A Rockefeller Collection: Modern Works at MOMA" - Arts: XLIII: 7; pp 28 - 31. "Anatomy of a Collector: Nelson Rockefeller" - Art in America: LIII (1966): 2; pp 27 - 46. "Nelson Rockefeller: I Know What I Like" - Art News: LXXVIII (1979): 5; pp 114 - 118, 120, 122. Miscellaneous Uncatalogued Manuscripts (Nelson Rockefeller), Library Archive, Museum of Modern Art. Nelson Rockefeller: Paul Cummings, interview, 24/7/1972, Archives of American Art.
- 79 "Lee Ault, Collector" - Art Digest: 15/4/1944; p 7. Rosamund Frost: "Lee Ault Can Pick Them" - Art News: XLIII: 5; p 19, 55. "Modern Paintings: The Lee Ault Collection", Valentine Gallery, 10/4 - 29/4/1944.
- 80 "Twentieth Century Art In New England", exh. cat., Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, 6/6 - 30/6/1948. "Inside New England's Taste" - Art News: XLVIII (1949 - 50): 4; p 30. "Solid U S Citizens Teach Texans How to Collect" - Art Digest: 1/4/1952; p 9. "Trends in Collecting 4: At Home (Lee Ault)" - Art in America: XLVI (1958): 2; pp 42 - 44.
- 81 "Some Businessmen Collect Contemporary Art", exh. cat., Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, 6/4 - 27/4/1952. "Charles Zadok Collection", sale catalogue, Sotheby's, London, 22/6/1965.
- 82 "Ira Haupt Collection", sale catalogue, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, 13/1/1965. "Museum of Modern Art: Visits to Private Collections - Collection of Mr and Mrs Ira Haupt", 16/5/1955, typescript, Library, Artist File, Museum of Modern Art.
- 83 Full details of purchases are available in Louise Pulitzer: op cit. Pulitzer's new adventurousness in the 1950s was attributable at least in part to his second marriage, for his new

- wife had been employed by the St Louis Art Museum and was particularly interested in more contemporaneous production than had interested Pulitzer before.
- 84 Ben Heller : Paul Cummings, interview, 8/1/1973, Archives of American Art.
 - 85 Heller has the distinction of having paid one of the highest prices achieved by Pollock during the artist's lifetime, for "One" in 1955 - *ibid.* See also Chapter 5.
See also: B. H. Friedman: "The New Collector - 3 Typical Collectors" - Art in America: XLVI: 2; pp 12 - 19. "Executive View" - Art in America: XLV: 1; p 52. Cynthia Kelloff: "At Home with Art" - New York Times: 8/5/1960; IX; pp 84 - 85. Ben Heller: "The Roots of Abstract Expressionism" - Art in America: 1961: 4; pp 40, 41, 44, 45, 48.
 - 86 Sidney Janis: Paul Cummings, interview 1/8 - 8/8/1972; Alfred H. Barr: letter to Philip Goodwin, 9/1/1952, Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number 2179.
 - 87 Art Digest: August 1953; p 18.
 - 88 Dorothy Miller: Paul Cummings, interview, 16/6/1971, Archives of American Art.
 - 89 "An Architect on the Skyline" - Town & Country: December 1941; p 78. "Museum of Modern Art: Visits to Private Collections - Philip L Goodwin", 10/5/1950, typescript, Library, Museum of Modern Art. "The Philip L Goodwin Collection" - Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art: XXVI: 1; pp 4 - 12.
 - 90 "New York Private Collections", exh. cat., Museum of Modern Art, 1951. "MOMA: Summer Exhibition Private Collections" - Art Digest: 1/8/1951; p . "Rockefeller, Whitney, Senior, Odets, Colin" - Art News: L (1951 - 52): 4; pp 34 - 37, 60. Blanchette Rockefeller: Paul Cummings, interview, 30/6 & 19/8/1970, Archives of American Art.
 - 91 In later years her collecting activity in conjunction with her husband was predominantly in the field of nineteenth and early twentieth century realist American art. "American Art: Exhibition from the Collection of Mr & Mrs John D Rockefeller III", exh. cat., Whitney Museum of American Art, 1976.
 - 92 He became aware of this in the immediate post-war years via his regular business visits to Germany, for there was a good deal of market activity in such art in the post-war years, and it was there that he made most of his purchases - Walter Bareiss: interview with the author, 12/9/1984.
 - 93 The first American painting he acquired was Hartley's "The Lost Felice" in 1944.
 - 94 Walter Bareiss: interview with the author, 12/9/1984. Eliot Noyes: "Trends in Collecting: At Home" - Art in America: XLVI (195): 2; pp 42 - 44. B. H. Friedman: "The New Collector - 3 Typical Collections" - Art in America: XLVI (1958): 2; pp 12 - 16, 18, 19. George Heard Hamilton: "The Collector as a Guide to Taste" - Art News: LIX (1960): April; pp 41 - 43, 58, 59. "Collection of Mr and Mrs Walter Bareiss: 50 Selections", exh. cat., Museum of Modern Art Guest House, 23/4 - 11/5/1958. "German Expressionist Prints from the Walter Bareiss Collection", exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery: 25/10 - 1/1/1967. "Sammlung Walter Bareiss", exh. cat., NeueStaatsGalerie Munchen, 1965.
 - 95 Hunter: op cit; p 17.
 - 96 Edward M. M. Warburg: Paul Cummings, interview, 13/5/1971, Archives of American Art.
 - 97 Nelson Rockefeller: Paul Cummings, interview, 24/7/1972, Archives of American Art. However, this term must be seen as relative in

- Rockefeller's case - after all he purchased "Girl with Mandolin" in 1956 for a reputed \$98,000 - Aline Saarinen: The Proud Possessors; p 387.
- 98 Eugenia Lea Whitridge: "Trends in the Selling of Art" - College Art Journal: III (1944): 2; pp 58 - 64.
- 99 Collectors who explicitly stated that they (initially at least) went for European art on grounds of quality judgements were Harry N. Abrams, Ralph F. Colin and Ben Heller - "Harry N. Abrams Family Collection", exh. cat., Jewish Museum, 29/6 - 5/9/1966; Ralph F. Colin: Paul Cummings, interview, 15/8/1969, Archives of American Art. Ben Heller : Paul Cummings, interview, 8/1/1973, Archives of American Art.

CHAPTER 13: THE 'BLUE CHIP' COLLECTOR - EPITOME OF STATUS TASTE

The category of 'blue-chip' collector must be seen as forming the opposite pole in the structure of the collector 'organisation-set' to that signified by the 'avant-garde' collector. The term 'blue-chip' is derived from the vocabulary of the stock market and means a non-risk investment, often involving one of the elite industrial corporations. Parallels can be drawn between the stature of the great majority of names and of individual works included in collections in this category and gilt-edged stocks for the modern art concerned was the critical and commercial elite whose art historical position was by 1940 considered unassailable, was found in the premises of the most distinguished 'promoter-validator' dealers, and set the sales records at auction. It is this last factor which indicates the difference between this category and that of the 'on-guard' collector, for characteristically this group of collectors were associated with the most prestigious works by the best known artists of the modern movement, those who were the most sought after and expensive.

The fact that the art concerned was associated with the upper echelons of the market means that the socio-economic position of the individuals who acquired such art is relevant. To acquire such art demanded a substantial level of disposable income, with the concomitant of either a very high income or significant wealth holdings, and this eliminated all but a tiny number of potential private collectors. Indeed, an examination of the individuals concerned reveals that socio-economically this category was dominated by those whom sociologist C. Wright Mills has termed the "corporate elite": the "blue bloods" whose fortunes dated back

many years, and the "café society" drawn from newer money without the prestige to qualify for the "Social Register".^[1] Among the former category were John Hay Whitney, heir to one branch of the family fortune, who founded his own venture capital company in the nineteen thirties and also acted as a publisher (the Herald-Tribune Group);^[2] and W. Averell Harriman (married to the art dealer Marie who ran a gallery specialising in modern French art in the nineteen thirties) who had various business interests ranging from railroads (he was heir to the Harriman railroad empire and chairman of the Union Pacific Railroad), shipping and investment banking, and also became well-known as a politician and diplomat.^[3] A number of other collectors somewhat less lofty in status, but nevertheless belonged to significant business dynasties. Leonard C. Hanna Jr, heir to a Cleveland "industrial empire", began to collect seriously circa 1930 (in that year the dealer Germaine Seligmann claims that the only painting he owned was a Georgia O'Keefe flower piece),^[4] although he had had an academic interest in the area for many years and had been a trustee of the Cleveland Museum for the previous decade. Stephen C. Clark Jr, a scion of the family controlling the Singer Sewing Machine Corporation and Clark's O.N.T. Thread and shareholder in these concerns, became well-known as a collector of what was then considered 'modern' art (i.e. late nineteenth and early twentieth century French painting and the work of Americans of a similar era) in the nineteen twenties.^[5]

A number of socio-professional groupings characteristically associated with high earning potential were significant in this category. The first of these is that of banking and venture capitalism. Among this group one finds Maurice Wertheim, a New York investment banker with an interest in publishing (he sponsored the

Nation for a period), who began to collect in the mid-thirties (although an interest in modern design and architecture and conversely in old masters preceded this development). Banker Georges Lurcy began his collection of French painting in Paris in the nineteen twenties, but continued it after his arrival in New York in 1940.

A second group, that of the business executive, included collectors such as Leigh Block, the Vice-President of the Chicago-based Inland Steel (the family firm) whose collecting post-dated his marriage in 1942 to Mary Lasker (daughter of the advertising executive Albert D.).^[6] Nathan Cummings, an officer and stockholder in a large Chicago-based grocery concern, commenced his collecting career in 1945 when he bought a Pissarro harvesting scene in Paris. Henry Pearlman, a New York businessman, began his collection in the latter nineteen forties, although most of his purchasing was done in nineteen fifties. Arnold Kirkeby, a Californian hotelier, began to collect French paintings just after World War II.^[7] Ralph M. Coe, who was President of his family firm (Cleveland City Forge Corporation), started to collect soon after his graduation in 1906.^[8] Finally, Albert D. Lasker, founder of advertising agency Lord & Thomas, began to collect in the mid-forties subsequent to his retirement.^[9]

Another significant professional area was that of the entertainment industry. From this came collectors such as Nate Spingold, a Vice-President of Columbia Pictures, who began to collect French painting from Impressionism to the School of Paris in the nineteen forties. William Goetz, head of production at Universal International Films in Hollywood, started to collect

seriously in 1942, although his interest in the area dated back to 1935 when he had purchased a Vlaminck landscape. George Gard de Sylva, a Hollywood-based composer of popular and film music, bought his first modern French paintings and sculpture in the late nineteen thirties. Finally, Edward G. Robinson, a film actor, made his first purchase in 1933 (10 Blakelock landscapes) several years after his first arrival in Hollywood, but his major purchases were made from 1936 onwards.

However, what is remarkable about the individuals who can be discussed in this category is that, although an advanced education was prevalent among collectors of this category (indeed, was characteristic of this class), there was a paucity of 'professionals'. Indeed, Samuel Marx, the Chicago architect and interior designer, who started to collect in the late nineteen thirties soon after his marriage to Florene (who had previously had an interest in art history) was the only one of note.

A critical examination of American 'blue-chip' collections reveals that these exhibited a remarkable congruence in composition. Such a unit would, characteristically, consist of a selection of works by the so-called 'modern masters' of French painting from the late nineteenth to the earlier twentieth centuries with at least a token representation of the artists historically associated with this range. The full extent of this characteristic gamut can be judged from only a handful of collections. That of Edward G. Robinson, which by 1957 numbered some 75 pieces, [10] included: important Impressionist works such as 5 oils by Camille Pissarro, 5 Auguste Renoirs (ranging from 1876 - 1910), 4 pastels and one bronze by Edouard Degas ("La Grande Danseuse"), and 3 Claude Monets (1872 -

1886); Post-Impressionist works such as 2 'Tahitian' Paul Gauguins, 2 Vincent van Goghs, Paul Cezanne's "The Black Clock" and Seurat's "Le Crotoy"; School of Paris works such as 9 Georges Rouault oils (1906 - 1939), 4 by Pierre Bonnard, 3 'white period' scenes by Maurice Utrillo, 2 Amedeo Modigliani oils of 1918, and Henri Matisse's "La Desserte" (1897). Other School of Paris artists represented included Andre Derain, Raoul Dufy, Berthe Morisot, Jules Pascin, Pablo Picasso, André Dunoyer de Segonzac, Alfred Sisley and Chaim Soutine.[11]

A remarkably similar collection was built up by Maurice Wertheim, who in the 15 years before his death in 1950 amassed a substantial number of nineteenth century works - such as 5 Renoir oils, 4 works by Degas (1 oil, 1 pastel and 2 bronzes), 3 Monets including "Les Bateaux Rouges" (1875), 3 Seurats including a "Study for La Grande Jatte" (1885), 2 works each by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (one of which was "La Buveuse") Cézanne and van Gogh (including an 1888 "Self Portrait") - and twentieth century pieces - which included 5 works by Picasso (4 paintings and one drawing - all blue period), 3 Matisse oils (ranging from 1915 to 1923), a Dufy, a Soutine - and a number of sculptures by Aristide Maillol and Charles Despiau.[12] The Goetz collection, which consisted of some 50 pieces of painting and sculpture by the late nineteen fifties, [13] included, in addition to examples by some of those cited above, some works also fairly characteristic of 'blue-chip' taste - 7 small paintings by Vuillard, [14] 6 late works by Pierre Bonnard and 4 works by Picasso (ranging from 1905 to 1923).[15] What varied from collection to collection was not this overall characteristic selection, but the proportion of the late nineteenth versus the early twentieth centuries or the individual ratios of

one artist to another.[16]

Within the general parameters of taste outlined above, a number of collectors built up significant groups of works by particular artists. The Lasker's collection, which totalled some 100 works by the time of Albert's decease in 1949, ranged in chronological sequence from an 1834 Corot to a 1952 Foujita. It included 10 paintings and 6 drawings by Picasso ranging temporally from 1901 - 1945 but split between the very early and the late (this polarity was quite common in collections of this type, for Cubist and more particularly Surrealist influenced work was excluded more often than not), and 9 major Matisse oils and 3 drawings (predominantly of the nineteen twenties and nineteen forties).[17] In addition to the foregoing, this collection also included groups of works by such fashionable artists as Salvador Dali (24 watercolours amongst which were 5 specially executed for Mary Lasker in 1948 and 1949), 24 oils and 3 drawings by Foujita, 9 watercolours and one oil by Dufy, and 7 watercolours and one oil by Marie Laurencin.[18] The Block's emphasised a selected few "masters" of French modernism. In the nineteen forties they apparently concentrated upon Braque,[19] by whom they eventually owned 9 paintings ranging in date from a 1906 Fauve piece to one executed in 1952, although the majority were from the nineteen thirties and nineteen forties. Seven of these paintings were acquired in the nineteen forties, including "Large Billiard Table" (1949) which was purchased from the painter in 1950. In the following decade the Blocks concentrated upon Picasso, eventually acquiring more than a dozen works ranging from a Blue Period painting to a 1963 portrait. The last remaining large grouping owned by the Blocks was a substantial group of Mondrian flower pieces (but not any of his neo-plastic paintings).[20] The

collection of Sam and Florene Marx was dominated by 14 Picasso paintings (purchased between 1939 and 1955) - ranging from "Woman Combing her Hair" (1906) to the 1941 "Woman in Armchair" - 5 large Matisses from his "cubistic" period (1911 - 1917) - including "The Moroccans" (1916) - and 6 large Braques, ranging from "The Mantelpiece" (1922) to "The Studio" (1949).^[21] The major focus of Henry Pearlman's collection was Cézanne, by whom the collector acquired his first landscape watercolour in Paris in 1949. In the subsequent decade he amassed 5 oils, 9 additional watercolours, a drawing and half a dozen prints. These works, together with 6 paintings by Soutine (predominantly from the nineteen twenties) constituted just over half of Pearlman's collection.^[22]

If the work represented in 'blue-chip' collections ventured outside the parameters of late nineteenth and early twentieth century French art, then selections were most likely to be made from the more realist American painting of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries or the post-war School of Paris. In the mid-fifties the Blocks began to acquire contemporary Americans such as Ivan Albright, Stuart Davis, O'Keefe, Karl Knaths and Franklin Watkins. In some cases an interest in American art represented a shift in direction for the collectors concerned. In the mid-fifties Nate B. Spingold, who by then had built up a collection which ranged from the Impressionists through 3 paintings each by Bonnard (all late works) and Vuillard to School of Paris painters such as Modigliani and Soutine, ^[23] changed the direction of his collecting to include work by contemporary American painters such as Hyman Bloom, Edward Hopper, Jack Levine, Ben Shahn and Max Weber. ^[24]

In the main, the American purchases of 'blue-chip' collectors

were made concurrently with European, with the former acquired if such works were considered to be compatible in spirit to the collector's European possessions. During his early collecting career Edward G. Robinson acquired a number of works by contemporary American artists such as Hopper, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Maurice Prendergast, Eugene Speicher and, most notably, Grant Wood's controversial "Daughters of Revolution" (acquired in the early nineteen thirties). Stephen Clark too acquired the work of nineteenth and early twentieth century Americans concurrently with his French works. The latter consisted for the most part of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings by Cézanne (5 by 1954), Degas, Manet, Renoir, and Seurat (by whom he owned "La Parade").^[25] Among the Americans he particularly acquired Thomas Eakins and Winslow Homer but also purchased works by Bellows, Charles Burchfield, Arthur B. Davies (for whom Clark had acted as a patron in the nineteen twenties), Eilshemius, Hopper, Albert P. Ryder and Speicher. With the passage of time an increasing proportion of works entering Clark's collection were nineteenth century American 'masterpieces'.^[26] The Harrimans' collection, which in 1952 totalled some 4 dozen pieces - including 6 works each by Cézanne and Derain, 3 Matisses, 2 works by Renoir, 2 by Van Gogh, 2 by Picasso (blue/rose period), and a Degas bronze "La Petite Danseuse" (later another 3 paintings were added) - in the main reflected the predominantly European work promoted by Marie Harriman in her gallery. ^[27] However, Walt Kuhn, the only American in this collection, had a relatively important representation of 7 works, including "The White Clown". He too had been sponsored by Marie in the nineteen thirties.^[28]

An involvement with more recent art developments, and in this

respect one is talking almost exclusively about post-war European painting, was only discernible in 'blue-chip' collections from the mid-fifties onwards. It is significant in this respect that the majority of the post-war European artists, such as Jean Dubuffet, who entered these collections were represented by the self-same galleries (either in New York or in Paris, for many of these collectors were regular visitors to this city and made a proportion of their acquisitions there) in whom these collectors viewed and bought the work of European 'modern masters', and were those presented as being the continuation and heirs of the European tradition represented by these collections. For instance, in the later nineteen fifties the Blocks acquired the occasional work by post-war French or European painters such as Dubuffet, Marino Marini, Georges Mathieu and Sam Francis. However, such purchases never amounted to more than a small percentage of any of these collections.

A number of characteristic attitudes toward the art work distinguished these collectors. Above all they were presented, or presented themselves, within the context of discriminating connoisseur or disinterested 'amateur'. The flavour of this representation may be judged from this statement made by Georges Lurcy with respect to his approach toward collecting -

"I want [my] money reaping paradise - in a fashion as mysterious as the artist's simple oils producing it.....The priceless temptation of art gives one everything ..." [29]

The tradition of the connoisseur places a premium upon the visual acuity of the collector, for such a person must be able to distinguish the great from the merely good or average. Such collectors, to use the words of Sam and Florene Marx, wished to acquire "truly exalted works of painters and sculptors of

international reput[e]."[30] These collectors stressed the care and time which they took over their selections, and the time they were willing to expend upon study. As Edward G. Robinson expressed it in 1942,

"The secret is to take plenty of time looking at pictures everywhere. I haunt museums and galleries everywhere I go." [31]

The emphasis upon the critical renown of works entering these collections can be interpreted as an expression of status, an important consideration for collectors of these elevated socio-economic levels. These were important collections of notable works built up by influential persons. In this context one must consider the presentation of certain art works and artists within a definite art historical tradition which had its roots in Europe, and more particularly France. Whereas it is more usual to consider this tradition within the context of production, it also had its influence upon the perceived norms of appreciation and consumption. If one turns to Georges Lurcy, one might expect that his collection, as an exemplification of the 'blue-chip' taste of France in the decade he commenced collecting, would show some signs of distinction from his United States counterparts. However, if one examines this assemblage - which featured 8 Boudin beachscapes, 4 Renoirs, 3 Gauguins including "Mau Taporo" (1892), 2 Monets, Toulouse-Lautrec's "Les Ambassadeurs" (1892) and works by Bonnard, Marc Chagall, Derain, Dufy, Utrillo and Vlaminck [32] - one will note that there was no appreciable difference between the taste shown in this ostensibly French collection and that demonstrated by the characteristic American 'blue-chip' collection. Moreover, the emphasis upon time, while characteristic of the connoisseur, can also be interpreted as a signifier of socio-economic standing, for it exemplified the concept of 'conspicuous leisure' defined by

Thorsten Veblen i.e. only those with money over and above that needed to fulfil living requirements have time to spare for non-remunerative activities or considerations.[33]

The remarkable concurrence of taste demonstrated by these collections must surely bring into question the level of individual connoisseurship of these collectors. Instead, their effective similarity would seem to indicate a dependence upon received opinion: whether it be the accumulated 'judgement' of the body of (published) art history as to the relative merits of exponents of the modernist tradition, the advice of particular contemporary tastemakers, or the prevailing taste of the collector's peer group. Indeed, one must note a remarkable concordance in collecting priorities between 'blue-chip' collections and the work exhibited, and collected, by public institutions during the period under discussion.

In a small number of cases the advice of particular tastemakers is easy to trace. For instance, Henry Pearlman availed himself of the counsel of art-historian John Rewald,[34] so too did John Hay Whitney. The latter amassed the majority of his collection in the decade immediately after World War II (although he had acquired a number of major European paintings including Renoir's "Le Bal au Moulin de la Galette" before), availing himself of an inheritance of \$27 million which he received in 1946.[35] Among the works Whitney acquired were two van Goghs of 1889, a Gauguin "Self Portrait" (1890), a number of Matisses including the painter's study for "Luxe, Calme et Volopte", several early Picassos including a 'blue period' self-portrait, two paintings by Henri (le Douanier) Rousseau including "Jungle Scene", and Fauve paintings by Braque, Derain,

Dufy and Vlaminck.[36] Adele (Mrs David) Levy formed a relatively small collection of some 37 works which included 4 pieces by Cézanne and 3 oils by Matisse in the 20 years between the mid-thirties and the mid-fifties. She apparently began collecting after attending an art appreciation course taught by the critic Alfred Frankfurter, and asking Frankfurter to help herself and her husband to select works. This arrangement endured for approximately two decades.[37]

In other cases a reliance upon professional advice can only be inferred: for instance, from the links between the selections made by these collectors and the work shown in the most important 'promoter-validator' galleries, such as Paul Rosenberg in New York. One striking instance of inferred influence must be the congruity between the Marxes' selection of Matisse paintings, which differed quite markedly from the more common emphasis of their peers upon either this painter's Fauve period or his more decorative work of the nineteen twenties, and the opinion of Alfred Barr of the Museum of Modern Art that this artist's more cubistic production was his most significant work. [38]

With respect to the significance of these collections as signs of the collectors' social standing, one must note the importance of how the taste represented in these collections fitted into an entire life-style. The majority of these collections were presented within the context of antique furniture, silver and fine china. On occasion the display of works might vary from the conventional, and works were displayed in ensembles of like works within a decorative scheme. For instance, the Lasker's had a Matisse dining room and the Blocks a Braque dining room. [39] Alternatively, special private galleries might be used, such as that arranged by Stephen

C. Clark to display his group of a dozen Matisse paintings (including "Lady with Plumes").^[40] In such presentations each element reiterated the message of discrimination, elegance and wealth, and it was important that the art works included were of a nature adaptable to such manipulation, and this meant above all that the works concerned had to have an unimpeachable critical and commercial profile.

The collectors of this category, as might be expected of members of the uppermost socio-economic strata, with its traditional links with private philanthropy as an expression of socio-economic standing, exhibited strong and influential ties with various institutions and, of particular interest for this study, with the Museum of Modern Art (although one notes that provincial collectors also had ties with their local modern art museums e.g. Chicago Art Institute). Although in many instances this contact was limited either to loans to institutions for exhibitions or individual gifts/bequests, in several instances the involvement was more striking. For instance, John Hay Whitney was a officer and trustee of the Museum of Modern Art for many years, ^[41] as was Clark. Mrs Levy, the Marxes and Robinson were trustees of the Modern. Leonard Hanna appears to have been influenced over the years by his strong sense of commitment towards the Cleveland Museum, both providing this institution with a large purchase fund in 1941 (for important works of any period) and bequeathing it his private collection.^[42]

As the works which characterise such collections tend to fall by definition within the category of 'museum-quality', the

likelihood that their collections would find their eventual homes within the public domain must have influenced the selections made by these collectors. The latter consideration appears to have been especially overt with respect to George Gard de Sylva. In his case, although he acquired a few paintings in the early nineteen forties, it was not until he conceived the idea of presenting a collection to the Los Angeles County Museum in mid-decade that he began collecting in earnest. The collection which resulted from this resolve, when presented in 1946 - 1947, amounted to 24 paintings and 10 pieces of sculpture ranging from an 1865 Degas to a 1930 Rouault.^[43]

It is remarkable how many of these collectors came to such taste fully formed, with the exception of collectors of an older generation such as Clark and Coe who both began collecting modern French art at a time it was still somewhat controversial in the United States, if less so in Europe. There was little evolution into this taste or, indeed, from one price category into another. Most of these collectors started at the top and remained there. In this situation the importance of moneyed backgrounds must be the answer in many cases. But the fact that a number of these collectors began to collect late in life, after they had made their fortunes, must also be significant as it indicates that 'blue-chip' collecting could be an expression of elite 'membership' on the part of these individuals. Finally, as expressions of taste, one conditioned by a complex of external pressures ranging from social factors to knowledge of the 'canon' of modernist art history or access to professional advice, these collections constituted a distinctly prestigious layer within the organisation of the 'collector-set.

NOTES

- 1 C. Wright Mills: The Power Elite; pp 125 - 150.
- 2 "John Hay Whitney Dies at 77" - New York Times: 9/2/1982; p B16.
- 3 "W. Averell Harriman: Plenipotentiary II" - New Yorker: 10/5/1952; pp 36 - 57. "A Voter's Choice of Millionaire" - Life: 22/9/1958; pp 104 - 128.
- 4 Germaine Seligmann: Merchants of Art; p 221.
- 5 Ferdinand Lundberg: The Rich and the Super-Rich; p 220.
- 6 Fortune: February 1960; pp 147 - 149, 202 - 204. "Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 108.
- 7 Wesley Towner: The Elegant Auctioneer; pp 589 - 590. "The Kirkeby Pictures at Auction" - Art News: LVII (1958): October; pp 41, 59, 60.
- 8 "Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 106.
- 9 Previous to this date he had had no apparent interest in modern art, but his new wife had studied at the Fogg in the early nineteen twenties and had been associated with the Reinhardt Gallery in the nineteen twenties and nineteen thirties (she was married to the owner of this establishment for a number of years). "Setting for a Triple Vision" - Vogue: 15/10/1946; pp 226 - 229.
- 10 Sidney Geist: "Magnificent Obsession" - Art Digest: 15/3/1953: 12; p 16.
The bulk of this collection would appear to have been amassed by the early nineteen forties, for in 1941 Robinson's collection numbered some 67 works. "Robinson Art Viewed in Los Angeles" - Art Digest: 1/6/1941; p 18.
- 11 "Forty Paintings from the Edward G. Robinson Collection", exh. cat., Museum of Modern Art, 4/3 - 12/4/1953. "The Gladys Lloyd and Edward G Robinson Collection", exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum, 11/9 - 11/11/1956. "Edward G Robinson" - Art Digest: 15/3/1938; p 9. "Edward G Robinson Acquires Early Matisse" - Art Digest: 1/5/1940; p 16.
His collection was dispersed in 1957 to finance a divorce settlement. "Death of a Collection" - Time: 4/3/1957; p 77. "The Big Deal" - Time: 11/4/1957; p 85. "Robinson to Niarchos - Fabulous Collection has a New Owner" - Life: 15/4/1957; p 107, 108. "E. G. Robinson Art Brings \$3,000,000" - New York Times: 26/2/1957; pp 1, 18.
- 12 "French Painting Since 1870 lent by Maurice Wertheim", exh. cat., Fogg Museum, Harvard, 1/6 - 7/9/1946. Alfred M. Frankfurter: "Today's Collectors: Maurice Wertheim - Modern Milestones" - Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): 4; pp 28 - 31, 64. "Names Withheld" - Art News: XLVIII (1949 - 50): 10; p 28. "The Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 109. "Modern French Art - Monet to Picasso", exh. cat., North Carolina Museum of Art, 17/6 - 4/9/1960.
- 13 Most were acquired in the second half of the nineteen forties.
- 14 One painting by this artist was bought annually between 1946 and 1950 - by 1959 they possessed 8.
- 15 This collection also contained 5 Dufy paintings and 2 paintings each by Cézanne, Rouault and Vlaminck. "Vincent by Candlelight" - Time: 14/2/1949; p 27. Alfred M. Frankfurter: "The Goetz Collection" - Art News: L (1951 - 52): 5; pp 30, 31, 56, 57. "The Collection of Mr and Mrs Goetz", exh. cat., California Palace of the Legion of Honour, 18/4 - 31/5/1959.
- 16 It becomes rather repetitive to detail the composition of all

- collections of this type, but briefly, those of:
- Leonard C. Hanna featured 4 works by Degas and 2 by Van Gogh - "In Memoriam: Leonard C. Hanna Jr.", exh. cat., Cleveland Museum, 1958; Museum of Modern Art: Visits to Private Collections, 19/5/1954 and n. d. (typescripts). Library, Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- Ralph M Coe, by the late nineteen forties included works ranging from Boudin, Monet, Renoir, through Cezanne, Gauguin and Van Gogh to Derain, Dufy, Gris, Rouault and De Segonzac - Notes re Ralph M. Coe, February 1947, Germain Seligmann Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled; "Businessman and Picasso" - Fortune: June 1950; p 106.
- and Nathan Cummings, whose collection in the nineteen fifties ranged from late nineteenth century works by Degas and Gauguin to twentieth century works by Modigliani and Rouault - "U. S. Citizens Teach Texans how to Collect" - Art Digest: 1/4/1952; p 9; "Nathan Cummings Collection", exh. cat., Davenport Municipal Art Gallery, 21/3 - 11/4/1965; "Selections from the Nathan Cummings Collection", exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum, 1/7 - 7/9/1970.
- 17 Alfred M. Frankfurter: "Colour, Matisse and the Personal Touch" - Art News: XLIX (1950 - 51): 9; pp 22 - 24, 58. Aline B. Louchheim: "Personal Collector" - New York Times: 8/6/1952: II; p 6.
 - 18 The collection also featured groups of works by fashionable naive painters such as Bauchant, Bombois and Grandma Moses. "69 Paintings from the Collection of Mrs Albert D. Lasker", exh. cat., Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, 6/3 - 29/3/1953. "Modern Art, Rural Setting" - Vogue: 1/10/1953; p 158 - 161. "Collector's Prize" - Time: 6/1/1958; p 38.
 - 19 The Blocks' first acquisition in 1943 was a 1928 Braque still life, but what they considered to be their first major purchases were those of a Van Gogh in 1944 and a Cézanne portrait in 1945.
 - 20 "Living with the Great" - Vogue: 1/10/1952; pp 118 - 121. Francine Du Plessix: "Collectors: Mary and Leigh Block" - Art in America: September/October 1966; pp 64 - 66, 71, 72. "100 European Paintings and Drawings from the Collection of Mr and Mrs Leigh B Block", exh. cat., National Gallery, Washington D.C., 4/5 - 11/6/1967. "Works by Living Artists in the Collection of Mr and Mrs Leigh B Block", exh. cat., Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 11/2 - 9/4/1978.
 - 21 Art Digest: 15/2/1940; p 20. "Chicago's Fabulous Collectors" - Life: 27/10/1952; p 90 - 100. "The School of Paris: The Florene May Schoenborn and Samuel A. Marx Collection", exh. cat., Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2/11/1965 - 2/1/1966.
 - 22 Other works included a Van Gogh, a Toulouse-Lautrec, a Kokoshka portrait of Pearlman, 2 Modiglianis (of which one was a stone head), a Utrillo, and 2 sculptures each by Lehmbruck and Lipchitz (one of the latter was a bust of Pearlman). Note by Germain Seligmann of 12/3/1951 re visit to Henry Pearlman's office. Germain Seligmann Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled; "Exhibition of Paintings, Watercolours and Sculptures from the Collection of Mr and Mrs Henry Pearlman", exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum, 1974; "Mr and Mrs Henry Pearlman: a Loan Exhibition of Paintings, Watercolours and Sculpture", exh. cat., M. Knoedler & Co, New York, 27/1 - 21/2/1959.
 - 23 "A Loan Exhibition of Paintings from the Nate B. and Frances Spingold Collection", exh. cat., Wildenstein Gallery, New York, 23/1 - 8/3/1969. "From Business Wealth: Great Gifts of Art, 1958" - Fortune: December 1958; p 10. Alfred H. Barr, letter to

- Nate Spingold, 20/2/1950, Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll number 2176.
- 24 Charles Alan: letter to William Brice, 14/10/1955. Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll no 1379.
 - 25 Russell Lynes: Good Old Modern; pp 16 - 17.
 - 26 Rosamund Frost: "Collectors Come out of Privacy" - Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): 5; p 15. "Clark Collection Shown for Charity" - Art Digest: 15/3/1948; p 9. "A Collector's Taste : The Stephen C. Clark Collection", exh. cat., M. Knoedler Galleries, 11/1 - 30/1/1954. A. L. Chanin: "The Unerring Taste of Stephen Clark" - Art Digest: 1/1/1954; pp 13, 14.
 - 27 The collection at some time also featured works by Gauguin, Seurat, Toulouse-Lautrec and a late De Chirico. "Art in the Home" - Art Digest: 1/2/1941; p 9. "Mrs Harriman's Famous Art Collection" - Vogue: 1/2/1944; pp 80 - 81. "Exhibition of the Averell and Marie Harriman Collection", exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington D C, 15/4 - 14/5/1961.
 - 28 "High Cost of a Clown" - Life: 3/2/1958; p 32.
 - 29 Lurcy, quoted in Towner: op cit; p 578.
 - 30 "Collection of Samuel and Florene Marx", exh. cat., Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1965: p 7.
 - 31 "Edward G. Robinson on Art" - Magazine of Art: 35: 7; pp 258. See also: Arthur Millier: "Edward G. Robinson's Collection - An Interview" - Art in America: XXXII (1944): pp 225 - 229.
 - 32 When he died in 1953 his collection totalled 65 paintings, of which 38 works had been smuggled out of France just before World War II; with perhaps another third of the collection added in New York during the war years. "Names Withheld" - Art News: XLVIII (1949 - 50): 10; p 28. Towner: op cit; p 578 - 588. "The Lurcy Collection" - Arts: XXXII (1957 - 58): 1; p 30. Art Prices Current, 1957; pp A26 - A 27.
 - 33 Thorsten Veblen: Theory of the Leisure Class; pp 56 - 60.
 - 34 "Mr and Mrs Henry Pearlman: A Loan Exhibition of Paintings, Watercolours and Sculpture", exh. cat., M. Knoedler & Co, New York, 27/1 - 21/2/1959.
 - 35 "John Hay Whitney: Man of Means I" - New Yorker: 11/8/1951; pp 32 - 45 & "John Hay Whitney: Man of Means II" - New Yorker: 18/8/1951; pp 36 - 53.
 - 36 "The John Hay Whitney Collection", exh. cat., Tate Gallery, 16/12/1960 - 29/1/1961. "The John Hay Whitney Collection", exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington D. C., 29/5 - 2/10/1983. Henry McBride: "Rockefeller, Whitney, Senior, Odets, Colin" - Art News: L (1951 - 52): 4; pp 34 - 37, 60. John Rewald: "French Paintings in the Collection of Mr and Mrs John Hay Whitney" - Connoisseur: April 1956; pp 134 - 140. John Russell: "La Collectione Whitney" - L'Oeil: May 1958; pp 32 - 37. Aline B. Saarinen: "Art and Politics" - New York Times: 26/10/1958: II; p 11. Alan Pryce-Jones: "The John Hay Whitney Collection" - Art in America: July/August 1968; pp 69 - 77.
 - 37 "Adele R Levy Collection", exh. cat., Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1961. For a full list of works included in this collection - which included 4 Cézannes, 3 Matisse, 3 Degas, 3 Renoirs, 2 Seurats and 2 Rouaults - see this catalogue; and Museum of Modern Art: Visits to Private Collections, 24/5/1950 and 12/5/1954 (typescript), Archives, Museum of Modern Art.
 - 38 Alfred H. Barr: Matisse: His Art and His Public; pp 158 - 198.
 - 39 "Living with the Great" - Vogue: 1/10/1952; pp 118 - 121. Alfred M. Frankfurter: "Colour, Matisse and the Personal Touch" - Art News: XLIX (1950 - 51): 9; pp 22 - 24, 58.

- 40 Jean Lipman: "Matisse Paintings in the Stephen C. Clark Collection" - Art in America: XXII (1933 - 34); p 134.
This group was dispersed in the nineteen forties because Clark apparently no longer believed in the art historical importance of Matisse - Lynes: op cit; p 244.
- 41 He helped to found the Film Library. Lynes: op cit; pp 110 - 114.
- 42 Seligman: op cit; pp 221 - 222.
- 43 "Buddy De Sylva - Gift to Hollywood" - Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): September; pp 28, 29, 30 - 33, 53. "De Sylva Collection Enriches Los Angeles" - Art Digest: 15/10/1946; p 13. "The Mr and Mrs George Gard de Sylva Collection of French Impressionist and Modern Paintings and Sculpture", exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum, November 1950.

CHAPTER 14: THE CORPORATE PATRON OF MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY ART

The individual businessman provides the link between the private collector and the corporate - many corporate patronage programmes owed their existence to the enthusiasm of one particular officer of the company concerned, who might well be a private collector him/herself - but the reasons stimulating corporate art patronage are somewhat different to those underlying private collecting. There are 4 possible motives for industrial support for the arts: [1] first, the desire to take part as a corporate citizen in the life of the community in which the company is located; second, the search for prestige; third, the need to provide amenities for company employees; and fourth and last, the wish to engage in a form of reminder advertising. However, although critic Peyton Boswell, writing in Art Digest in 1945, hoped that corporate patronage of the fine arts would be used as a disinterested vehicle for widening the base of art appreciation, with the corporation replacing the role of the tax-diminished ranks of the tycoon collector, [2] it would appear that the major motivation governing this activity during the period under consideration was the wish

"to create a favourable impression of the status and quality of an industry, a business or of a brand name" [3]

The means by which corporations in the period under consideration obtained this end took two main forms - the use of art as prestige advertising, and the accumulation of collections both as a metaphor for the corporate image and as an indicator of status within the company's internal hierarchy.

There were a number of initiatives designed to improve public recognition of the company's identity without any direct reminder of

the nature of the company's product range. These can be regarded as one of the most significant new departures in corporate patronage during the period under discussion. In the main such initiatives involved the corporation in amassing a collection of pre-existent original art works, although the manner of forming these collections differed from case to case. The most important examples of this trend came between the late nineteen thirties and the late nineteen forties: the first was the I.B.M. (International Business Machines) collection, which was started in 1937; the second was that of Encyclopaedia Britannica, inaugurated in 1943; the last was that of the Miller Corporation, begun in 1945. Although each collection was formed for similar publicity reasons, the actual composition of each reflected the differing corporate images of the companies concerned. For instance, both the I.B.M. and the Encyclopaedia Britannica collections concentrated upon rather more conservative contemporary painting which concurred with their image as national institutions, while the Miller Collection, formed by a small company actively promoting modern design, featured abstract and modernist art.

The initial aim of I.B. M. was to form a collection which would represent the contemporary artistic production of all those 79 countries in which it conducted business. Two works from each of these nations were acquired between 1937 and 1939, via art authorities in each country,^[4] and these works were displayed as "Contemporary Art of 79 Countries" in twin exhibitions at the 1939 World's Fair in New York and the San Francisco Golden Gate Exposition.^[5] In 1940 I.B.M. followed up this successful venture by forming a collection of contemporary art from the 48 Federal states, plus dependencies, which consisted of two works from each

state (selected by local juries) "representative of the art and character of its particular state". These works were subsequently exhibited in New York and San Francisco in the same fashion as the preceding international collection.^[6] In the following year elements of both collections were circulated on an "invitational" tour of first North and then Southern America, with another similar tour in 1945.^[7]

From 1944 onwards Encyclopaedia Britannica's collection was sent touring in a similar promotional manner, although the initial purpose of it had been to gather a collection of professionally selected contemporary American paintings which might be used as colour reproductions in Britannica publications, but could also be used to promote the company by travelling exhibitions. ^[8] The collection was quickly amassed, and by 1945 121 artists (ranging from early twentieth century American realists such as the "The Eight" to contemporary artists such as Aahron Bohrod, Louis Gugliemi, Julian Levi, Walt Kuhn and Bradley Walker Tomlin) were represented by individual works. By 1946, when the collection was commemorated in a scholarly catalogue, another 28 works had been added (7 substitutions by artists already included, and 21 works by new artists), making a total of 135 paintings.^[9] After this date the size of the collection remained static, although it had been intended that a dozen new paintings would be added annually. Instead a "rotating annual" scheme was adopted, whereby works were rented for one year (for a fee of \$200), and these were sent out on exhibition alongside the permanent collection, if space permitted.^[10]

Although the work included in the collections above tended to

reinforce already existing corporate identities, the use to which the Miller Collection was put was somewhat more active as it was part of a strategy to change the company's image. Burton Tremaine, as director of a company manufacturing lighting fixtures, realised that the success of his company's manufacture of fluorescent lighting (introduced just before World War II) would entail more integration between architectural design and the installation of lighting fixtures. Anxious that his design concept, which he marketed under the trademark "Ceilings Unlimited", be impressed upon American architects (and thereby the name of the Miller Company), Tremaine decided to form a collection

"... which demonstrates the historical influence of painting upon building design earlier in the twentieth century, [while] some of the more recent work indicates new horizons..." [11]

The 43 paintings and 8 sculptures acquired between 1945 to 1948 ranged from the strictly architectonic work of Josef Albers, Ilya Bolotowsky, Piet Mondrian (3 works) and Irene Rice Pereira (which might be construed as having had a direct influence on modern design) to items by Jean Arp, Joan Miró and Pablo Picasso (4 pieces) thought to demonstrate a more indirect influence.[12]

Emily Tremaine was appointed as art director of the new venture.[13]

This collection was circulated nation-wide between 1948 and 1950; and a scholarly catalogue, "Painting Towards Architecture", with an introduction by the architectural historian H. Russell Hitchcock, was produced to coincide with the tour.[14]

In the display large-scale reproductions of modern architecture were presented alongside the paintings to emphasise the hypothesis.[15]

To reinforce the attempts to revamp the company image, publications and stationery were re-styled so that layouts and designs incorporated adaptations of works included in the collection - for example, the Albers "Flying Man" (1929 - 1935) was adapted for the

cover of the 1945 promotional booklet for "Ceilings Unlimited".[16]

An interesting variant on the corporate patronage theme introduced for the first time in the mid-forties was the company sponsored art competition, held primarily to find works which could be utilised in advertising the corporation's product. However, although the basic end of all such competitions was advertising, the means employed were divided between those competitions which required the work produced to reflect the company's goods, and those which did not. Two major examples which, initially at least, fitted into the former category were: those competitions inaugurated by the Heller-Delta Company (La Tausca Pearls) in 1945, with the theme of "Woman with Pearls", to acquire images that could be used for full-page advertising purposes; and the occasional series organised by Hallmark Cards between 1949 and 1960 to provide material for its Christmas cards and other publications.

With respect to the former, only the first competition, from which 50 paintings were exhibited and 13 prizes totalling \$4,500 in Victory Bonds distributed (the 3 main prizes were awarded to works by Max Weber, Lily Cushing and Ruth Ray) was thematically restricted.[17] At the second competition in 1946 96 artists were selected by an invitational jury for exhibition, and 10 shared prizes totalling \$6,400. The first 3 purchase prizes, of between \$2,000 and \$1,000, were awarded to Abraham Rattner, Philip Evergood and Byron Browne.[18] At the third competition in 1948 the first (purchase) prize was raised to \$3,000 (this was won by Vasilieff).[19] If included in the competition related exhibitions artists were paid a rental fee of \$100 to cover them for the one year's exhibition (unless works were sold during this time),

and the company offered \$150 for reproduction rights if it used a painting in its advertising but did not actually purchase the work itself.

Although Hallmark Cards stressed the public service aspect of its venture in the initial announcement, [20] the advertising ends of the competition can be clearly seen in the restriction of entrants to a Christmas motif. From the 10,000 entries, 20 prizes totalling \$28,000 were evenly allocated between the French and United States entries (American Fred Conway and Frenchman Edouard Georg, in addition to winning their respective national sections, shared the international section first prize of \$3,500). One hundred artists were selected and exhibited at the Wildenstein Galleries.[21] Out of the 20 prize-winners and 100 paintings selected for display, some 21 were later published. The second competition in 1952, restricted to watercolours (also with a Christmas content), attracted more than 3,600 entrants from 32 nations (although three-quarters of these were from the United States).[22] Out of these, 100 received awards totalling \$12,500.[23] After this Hallmark abandoned its insistence upon an identifiable Christmas theme.[24] The third and fourth contests, held in 1955 and 1957 respectively, were both invitational contests restricted to 50 artists, while the fifth (and last) was staged in 1960 and consisted of 57 painters "of promise". Works which the company decided to reproduce were purchased outright from the artist, and (with the addition of other works over the years that were used at various times) a collection of some 2,000 works was eventually built up.[25]

However, the most significant of the company-sponsored

competitions which did not specify content was undoubtedly that first organised by Pepsi-Cola in 1944 with the aim of acquiring works for reproduction in the calendars which the company sent out to local distributors and other customers. Although reproductions of well-known museum pieces and some specially commissioned works had replaced the commercial art previously used for a couple of years, a 1944 article by the critic Emily Genauer critical of the then current state of industrial patronage encouraged the Pepsi-Cola director, Walter S. Mack Jr, to instigate a nation-wide competition to help the corporation find its advertising requirements, [26] although the announcement of the project stressed a public service element.[27] The "Artists for Victory" organization, which had put on a successful mass exhibition the previous year, was asked in mid-1944 to stage the competition. It was announced that 150 works would be selected for exhibition via a two-tier (local and national) jury system consisting of artists, critics and museum directors; and that these would be further judged to select 12 prize-winners (4 purchase prizes ranging from \$2,500 to \$1,000 and 8 awards of \$500 each) who would share a total of \$11,000 in prize money. The announcement of the competition drew a tremendous response and, in all, 5,000 works from 49 states were entered for judging. To reinforce the publicity impact of the competition the prizes were awarded at a gala press luncheon by the mayor of New York (the 4 purchase prizes went to works by Waldo Pierce, Philip Evergood, Louis Bosa and Joseph di Martini). In addition to printing the 12 winners on 500,000 calendars, the company sponsored a year-long nation-wide exhibition tour of 150 works, under the title "Portrait of America" (the fact that the initial showing of this was the Metropolitan Museum undoubtedly endowed the competition with considerable extra status).[28] After the second competition

in 1945, again organised by Artists for Victory, 150 works were exhibited at the Rockefeller Centre. Subsequently, until it was terminated in 1948, competition selections were displayed at the National Academy of Design. Constant changes to procedure were made after the first competition: at the second and third Annuals 20 prizes totalling \$15,200 were awarded (with a first prize of \$2,500);^[29] at the 1946 Annual 7 fellowships of \$1,500 were also awarded (in all \$25,750 was disbursed by the company);^[30] at the fourth Annual in 1947 34 artists received a total of \$35,950 in prizes, fellowships and purchase monies (\$21,250 of this was prize-money);^[31] while at the 1948 Annual the prize money was increased to \$28,000, and a \$100 rental was introduced for the paintings selected for exhibition.^[32] After the first competition no purchase prizes were awarded, and the 12 works needed for the calendar were selected by the corporation staff from the 20 prize-winners (or sometimes from those hung at the exhibitions), which meant that the main prize-winners were sometimes not included on the calendar. For instance, the first prize-winner of the second competition, Paul Burlin's "Soda Jerker" (1942) was not reproduced in the appropriate calendar, and in some years only a few of the prize-winners were acquired for reproduction.^[33]

The only other notable effort in this field was that of the retailing concern of Gimbel Brothers, or more particularly their Pittsburgh and Milwaukee branches, which sponsored art competitions and collections of local art in the nineteen forties and early nineteen fifties, in an attempt to raise the store's status among the local community. The first such event was organised in Pittsburgh in 1946, under the direction of Arthur Kaufman (the local director), when a competition was organised to "create a

dramatic record of Pennsylvania and its contemporary people". The resultant collection of 114 paintings and drawings by 14 artists - including George Biddle, Fletcher Martin, Franklin Watkins and Andrew Wyeth - was presented to the Pennsylvania Academy in 1947.^[34] The events organised in Milwaukee were the idea of Charles Zadok. In 1948, 32 artists were requested to paint Wisconsin and its history to coincide with the state's centennial celebrations. These works were then purchased by the company and exhibited at the Wisconsin State Fair, before being donated to the Wisconsin Museum. In subsequent years local artists were asked to portray the state at work, at play and from the air (themes suggested by local arts organisations at Zadok's request). At each of these competitions 4 prizes totalling \$1,450 were awarded, while Gimbel's also purchased all works hung for between \$100 and \$300 each.^[35]

The most usual method for using art as an advertising tool was to commission fine artists to execute works which more directly represented the product of the corporation in question, albeit in a manner which carried more prestige than the more common commercial illustrations. In the early nineteen forties an increasing number of business concerns began to use fine art images as part of the layout of their advertisements, in the hope of impressing the superiority of their product upon the public consciousness, while other acquired works for reproduction within corporate publications. Some of these efforts were only occasional, or involved the use of museum pieces, but a number of corporations made extensive use of the strategy, and even built up substantial 'collections' of art works in this manner.

The first to acquire original works for reproduction in in-house publications was Abbott Laboratories, whose journal was distributed nation-wide to medical practitioners, when in 1938 - 1939 it began either to purchase existing works or to commission works to illustrate articles. For instance, Yasuo Kuniyoshi was asked to execute a series of drawings to accompany an article on anaesthesia. During the World War II Abbott commissioned 36 paintings which it exhibited nation-wide under the title "Art for Bonds" and reproduced as posters as part of its war effort.^[36] In the 20 years until 1959 the company acquired some 400 works ranging through Thomas Hart Benton, Charles Burchfield, Salvador Dali, Raoul Dufy, Georges Rouault and Ben Shahn.^[37] During World War II the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) ^[38] began to commission paintings to illustrate the role of oil in the war effort. Through the intermediary of the Associated American Artists Gallery 16 artists were engaged to paint the development and distribution of oil during the war years, in the various countries in which this industry was located (8 artists covered activities in the United States, and 8 those of other nations). The artists commissioned ranged from Benton (Mississippi River and Baton Rouge refineries) and Ernest Feine (Humble Oil Corp, Texas and Standard Oil Corporation, Louisiana), to Adolf Dehn (Venezuela) and Bruce Mitchell (Iran, Middle East).^[39] Although it was only intended initially that these works would be reproduced in the company's in-house periodical, The Lamp, in 1946 the 85 works which were the result of this patronage were publicly exhibited.^[40] In subsequent years Standard Oil (New Jersey) continued to commission works with which to publicise the oil industry and improve its image in countries in which it had subsidiaries - in the early nineteen fifties it staged a number of art competitions for local

artists, for instance in Cuba and Italy, where the prize-winning work was then hung in the headquarters of the local company - and by 1952 it had acquired 250 paintings by 48 artists as a result of this.[41] The last to start a similar venture was the Ford Motor Company, which in 1946 began to acquire paintings (predominantly watercolours) for reproduction in the corporation's own journal, the "Ford Times". Most of these works were commissioned (wherever possible) from regional artists; and by 1953 some 2,000 works by some 250 artists had been acquired. Although initially intended only for reproduction, this collection became the largest national collection of American watercolours, with some 7,250 works amassed in the first 12 years.[42]

In all the above, although they were gathered for advertising purposes, the works themselves were characteristically reproduced in the corporation's own publications as full-page illustrations (often in colour) without any superimposition of advertising copy, possibly as a suggestive accompaniment to the text. A number of corporations, however, utilised art works within the context of advertising layouts which carried the corporation's name or trademark, albeit tastefully and discreetly, as befits a form of prestige advertising. The very first company to venture into this area had been Steinway & Sons at the turn of the century; but the first company to utilise such a strategy during the period under consideration was the Container Corporation of America. The corporate director, Walter Paepke, came to believe in the sound business sense of a greater corporate involvement in artistic patronage in the mid-thirties, after a series of advertisements commissioned from A. M. Cassandra were successful in encouraging an upturn in the corporation's turnover.[43] Initially the

corporation concentrated merely upon raising the quality of its advertisements and hired well-known (predominantly graphic) artists for this purpose. These advertisements, although commissioned from both fine and graphic artists, were based on a standardised layout which featured the company's main product, the cardboard carton, on the page (whether in the actual design or beneath) and the company's title. In 1942 the company took its initiative one stage further and commissioned its "United Nations" series of advertisements, wherein artists from various countries involved in the Allied cause were commissioned to execute works to accompany (although not necessarily to illustrate) a short, war-effort oriented text - for instance, Jean Hélion in 1943 produced an abstract design to accompany the words "Paperboard Saves Metal". Later in the nineteen forties the corporation produced a series of advertisements based upon impressions of the 48 States by native artists.^[44] By 1945 it had commissioned some 90 artists.^[45]

Other ventures into the same field were undertaken by the Dole Pineapple Company and the De Beers Diamond Company, both under the influence of Charles Coiner, the director of advertising agency N. W. Ayer & Co. The former in the late nineteen thirties commissioned a number of contemporary American painters - such as Georgia O'Keefe, Kuniyoshi, Leon Karp and Pierre Roy - to go to Hawaii and execute a number of paintings which suggested or included the company's major product.^[46] The latter initiative was the result of Coiner's supposition that the nature of market for diamonds and the fine arts was remarkably similar. The first advertisements featured drawings, although subsequently full-colour reproductions of paintings commissioned for the purpose were used. Advertisements were always accompanied by the discrete text "painted especially for

the De Beer Collection" and the subject referred to fine gems, but otherwise the promotion of the product was not blatant.[47]

These campaigns featured works which included the company's products, but Upjohn Chemicals in the mid-forties commenced a series of advertisements featuring contemporary paintings on the theme of the nation's health, each of which was designed to illustrate a particular medical condition, featuring paintings selected from existing works (through the agency of the Midtown Gallery) for their suitability as illustrations of a particular subject or text.[48] Initially these advertisements were featured in periodicals, but subsequently Upjohn included them in the promotional material which they dispatched to medical practitioners nation-wide (by the end of 1945 100,000 of these had been sent out). The collection which resulted from this practice included artists such as Gladys Rockmore Davis, Bernard Karfiol, Fletcher Martin and Margit Varga; and was exhibited nationally between 1945 and 1948.[49]

All the above can be considered to be initiatives distinctive to the latter nineteen thirties and nineteen forties. Over and above the improved sales returns which corporations might hope to stimulate by more memorable advertising, these efforts were prompted by several historic factors. The public service rhetoric accompanying many, exemplified by the statement accompanying the initiation of the Encyclopaedia Britannica collection

"if we can help enough people to look at good pictures we believe we can help foster a public understanding of art which will enrich the cultural life of America" [50]

was influenced by the tone of democratising idealism characteristic of Federal art patronage of the nineteen thirties, with its hopes that a wider base for art appreciation and art support was being

created. However, the reasons why corporations undertook initiatives to improve their images were rather more selfish. Initially, in the latter nineteen thirties, a spur was that the prestige of corporate business in the United States was, at best, controversial, and companies felt the need to burnish their images if their sales were to improve. Another reason was that the war years of the nineteen forties were a time when corporate profits were high and excess profits taxes swingeing. This encouraged companies to minimise their high tax liabilities by utilising all the deduction provisions available - such as the 5 per cent of gross allowed for corporate charitable donations, and the potential for art purchases to be deducted as a normal running expense (if utilised for advertising purposes). The latter provision was of particular significance in stimulating the major corporate patronage initiatives of the war years.

With the uncertainties about the future and reduced profit margins of the immediate post-war years corporations preferred to retain as high a level of profits as possible. As a consequence 'social' expenditures were cut. For instance, although the I.B.M. collection continued to expand until 1946 (by which time it included some 30,000 items and was probably the largest corporate collection), buying subsequently declined and it was used primarily to decorate the company's own facilities (although loans were regularly made to special exhibitions such as the State Department's 'Art in Embassies' programme).^[51] Encyclopaedia Britannica withdrew completely from the field of corporate patronage in the latter nineteen forties, and the majority of the collection was dispersed at auction in 1952 (although some works had apparently been sold earlier to museums and private individuals).^[52] In 1949

the demise of the Pepsi-Cola Annual was announced, ostensibly because of the continuing low standard of entries to the event,^[53] and the collection of 60 works built up since 1945 was offered for sale (first to a number of American museums, and then at public auction in April 1951).^[54] The Miller Company disposed of its collection in 1950 via a private sale to the Tremaines.^[55]

There was something of a hiatus in corporate patronage until the improved economic climate and higher profit levels of the nineteen fifties once again encouraged corporations to consider so-called 'social' expenditures as part of their budgets.^[56] However, by the nineteen fifties the context of such expenditures no longer had the defensive element underlying the efforts of the early nineteen forties, now it was more celebratory, as befits the generally higher prestige of business in United States society. Within the context of art patronage, the ever-rising status of the tradition of modern art enabled it to signify the message of general corporate prestige; while the particular bias of a company's purchases were used as a metaphor of the corporate image i.e. the acquisition of the established modern masters might be used to convey the image of conservatism or dependability, while the accumulation of the most avant-garde abstraction could indicate a wish to be seen as dynamic and progressive. On another level, corporate patronage of the nineteen fifties served to delineate status within the superficially homogeneous corporate structures increasingly assuming a dominant role within United States society, as each level of the corporate hierarchy was signified by a certain class of work - for instance, important oils were reserved for the upper executive offices and boardrooms, inexpensive prints were sufficient for lower management.^[57]

One of the first corporate collections to fall within the foregoing parameters was that of Reader's Digest. The catalyst behind its inception in the late nineteen forties was the publication's co-founder, Lila Acheson Wallace. The composition of this collection, which predominantly featured small-scale French paintings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was conservative, as befits the corporate image.^[58] Another major example of such a collection, albeit of a more progressive cast, was undoubtedly that of Chase Manhattan Bank, which was started in 1959, on David Rockefeller's initiative.^[59]

In the context of creating a 'progressive' image, an increasing number of companies either acquired individual modern pieces (in particular paintings), or commissioned works (especially sculptures) for specific sites. In fact, a number of moves into the corporate patronage of modern art in this decade were the direct result of the erection of new corporate headquarters (itself a confident statement about the present and prospective fortunes of the company). Among those collections which were either begun or expanded as a result of such developments were those of Chase Manhattan Bank, Inland Steel and J. Heinz & Co (all of whom had new corporate headquarters constructed between 1957 and 1959 by the architects Skidmore, Owings & Merrill).^[60] One example of the mid-decade surge of corporate construction-related patronage is the metal screen which Harry Bertoia executed in 1954 for Manufacturer's Trust Company (New York) (other freestanding works by Marino Marini, Seymour Lipton and Lyonel Feininger were placed in the executive offices), another is the commissioning of sculptor Mary Callery to make large scale works for the lobby of the new headquarters of

the Aluminium Corporation of America (Pittsburgh).[61]

Although various corporations built up their own collections, or sponsored competitions of various kinds, it was uncommon for any company to encourage private patronage by any of its efforts. In 1947 Pepsi-Cola announced that they would be opening a new gallery, on the fifth floor of the company's New York headquarters, for the purpose of exhibiting promising new artists who had been selected by regional juries. The corporation intended to charge no commission for this service, and to fully defray all exhibition expenses. However, this enterprise was short-lived.[62] Another endeavour in this direction was made by the Meta-Mold Aluminium Company of Wisconsin in the early nineteen fifties. The company had become involved with contemporary art in 1951, when it was announced that the company, as part of its efforts to play a significant role in the local community, would acquire a number of works annually from the Wisconsin Artists Annual Exhibition. In 1953, when the new company headquarters was opened, an exhibition was held on the theme of the collections of businessmen and their companies was staged (primarily of modern European and American art) - undoubtedly at the instigation of Otto L. Spaeth, the Director of Meta-Mold, himself a private collector. The works included in this exhibition were hung throughout the company's premises, and the public was allowed in to view it outside office hours. This display drew a good deal of media comment, both locally and nationally and, later in the same year, ostensibly because of the public reactions noted by Spaeth to the first exhibition, an exhibition of 45 pieces of contemporary art loaned for the purpose from New York galleries was held as "Art for Everyone - A Purchase Exhibition".[63] The company guaranteed sales of \$2,000, in addition to any works acquired by the general

public.[64] After the success of this first venture other similar exhibitions were also staged in the next few years. All other enterprises in this context were occasional, for instance the involvement of department stores, of which perhaps the best known example is the sale by Gimbel's department store in New York of the Hearst Collection in 1941.[65]

In 1946 Edith Halpert asked the question (in an open letter addressed to art editors) "Is industry supporting art, or is art supporting industry?" [66] Her conclusion was that industry was not doing much to support the arts. A factor which is especially striking in this context is the relative cheapness for the corporations of fine art patronage when one considers the publicity benefits which were reaped by these means. Indeed, Emily Tremaine was able to build the majority of the Miller Collection on a budget equal to the sum which the company would ordinarily use for 12 advertisements in Fortune magazine.[67] Gimbels profited massively in its sponsorship of local art competitions, for it has been estimated that it received the equivalent of hundreds of thousands of dollars of publicity, for an outlay of only some \$12,000.[68] For the outlay of only thousands of dollars, I.B.M., by displaying its collection at the World's Fairs, was able to imprint its name upon some two million visitors to the I.B.M. pavilions at the two expositions. However, the most spectacular proof of this case is provided by an examination of the record of Pepsi-Cola. By the mid-forties the company's annual advertising budget was approximately \$4.5 million - of which \$2.2 million was spent on its own periodical advertising, \$1 million on co-operative advertisements with local bottlers, and \$1 million on "community services". In 1946, the first year the company directly organised

its competition, the entire cost of the project (prizes, packing, haulage etc.) over the year was only \$200,000, yet the publicity engendered by the enterprise encouraged a 50 per cent rise in demand for its calendars (up from 500,000 to 750,000).^[69]

What should be evident is that there was nothing altruistic about corporate art patronage, despite the early hopes and the elevated tone of public announcements. Instead, as critic Russell Lynes has noted,

"Industry has not taken up the artist because of any high minded notion of its duty to support him or the culture of the nation. It has done so because it has found that the artist can be used to serve a function in merchandising and public relations ... Art not only pays off on sales charts; it also supplies an aura of ostentatious culture ... " ^[70]

When the greatest publicity value was to be reaped from the direct commissioning and purchase of contemporary artists, or from the sponsoring of competitions, then this was the major avenue of corporate patronage, as happened in the late nineteen thirties and during the nineteen forties. When, however, the pecuniary advantages were no longer so imperative, or the novelty value of such ventures wore off and they received an ever-diminishing or increasingly negative coverage in the national media, most such initiatives were curtailed.^[71] When, in the subsequent decade, the most effective use of patronage was found to be the building of collections, it was in this area that most activity was concentrated. In summation, the relationship between art and industry was never clearly nor definitively set, but it would appear that patronage was always made to serve corporate ends as much as possible.

NOTES

- 1 Trevor Russell-Cobb: Paying the Piper; p 10.
- 2 "Common Sense" - Art Digest: 15/12/1945; p 3.
- 3 Sir Frederick Hooper, Royal Society of Arts - quoted in Russell-Cobb: op cit; p 11.
- 4 "IBM - Contemporary Art from 79 Countries" - Art Digest: 1/9/1939; p 5.
- 5 "Rapprochement of Art and Business Seen in IBM Exhibit at Fair" - Art Digest: 1/6/1939; p 37.
- 6 "The IBM Shows" - Art Digest: 1/5/1940; p 13.
- 7 The Southern American element appears to have been conceived of as much part of the war effort of encouraging hemispherical amity, as direct public relations for I.B.M. itself.
"IBM Collection Goes to South America" - Art Digest: 1/5/1941; p 6. "Watson Collection Starts Hemisphere Tour for Unity of Nations" - Art Digest: 1/5/1945; p 5.
- 8 "Loan Collection Formed" - New York Times: 11/5/1944; p 17.
Rosamund Frost: "The Britannica Goes Americana" - Art News: XLIV (1945- 46): 5; p 23.
The idea for a collection came in 1943 (ostensibly from William Benton, the new Board Chairman and one-time advertising executive), when the ownership of the company was transferred from Sears, Roebuck & Co to the University of Chicago - "One Way to Sell Books" - Time: 16/4/1945; p 63.
- 9 Encyclopaedia Britannica Collection of Contemporary Painting, 1946.
- 10 "Britannica Collection Inaugurates a Touring Annual" - Art Digest: 1/10/1946; p 7.
- 11 "Miller Collection Presents Art as Step-Mother of Architecture" - Art Digest: 1/2/1948; p 12.
- 12 Ibid. However, it would appear that, at least initially, the Tremaines did consider other possible complexions for this collection - Edith Halpert: letter to Burton G. Tremaine, 2/4/1946, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 13 In actuality the composition of the collection not only reflected the intention to stress the relationships between modern art and architecture, but also reflected the personal taste of Emily Tremaine (who in fact owned a number of the works presented within the context of the 'company' collection).
- 14 "The Miller Collection: Painting Towards Architecture", exh. cat., M. Knoedler & Co, New York, 2/11 - 20/11 (no year).
"Miller Collection" - Art Digest: 1/2/1948; p 34.
- 15 Emily Tremaine: Paul Cummings, interview, 24/1/1973, Archives of American Art.
- 16 Aline B. Louchheim: "Abstraction on the Assembly Line" - Art News: XLVI (1947 - 48): 4; pp 25, 26, 51, 52.
- 17 Rosamund Frost: "Women, Pearls, & Paint" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 19; p 19.
- 18 "La Tausca Art Competition" - American Artist: 11 (1947): 3; pp 36, 51. "Pictures Before Pearls" - Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): 12; pp 32, 33, 55. "Art Notes" - New York Times: 12/9/1946; p 5. "Ten Winners Named in Art Competition" - New York Times: 13/12/1946; p 30.
- 19 "La Tausca Annual Prizes for Third Annual" - Art Digest: 1/10/1948; p 11. American Art Annual: Vol XXXVII; p 16. "Artists Selected for '48 Competition" - New York Times: 8/10/1947; p 29.
- 20 Daniel Wildenstein: "The Role of the Art Dealer ... Middleman to

- Art and Industry" - Art in America: XLIV (1956): 2; pp 34, 35, 62, 63.
- 21 "Two Painters Divide First Prize of \$3,000 in International Christmas Theme Contest" - New York Times: 6/12/1949; p 36. Aline B. Louchheim: "French and American Christmas Art" - New York Times: 11/12/1949: II; p 9. Belle Krasne: "Artist's Season Hallmark's Christmas Greetings" - Art Digest: 15/12/1949; p 9. "Franco-American Card Game" - Art News: XLVIII (1949 - 50): 9; pp 36, 37.
 - 22 "Speaking of Pictures" - Life: 22/12/1952; pp 2, 3. "Prize Art Works to have Preview" - New York Times: 10/12/1952; p 32.
 - 23 Belle Krasne: "Seasons Greetings for Hallmark" - Art Digest: 1/1/1953; pp 8, 9.
 - 24 Rush: Art as Investment; p 362.
 - 25 "Art Inc: American Paintings from Corporate Collections", exh. cat., Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts; p 125.
 - 26 Art Digest: 1/4/1944; p 3.
 - 27 "Portrait of America" - Art Digest: 1/8/1944; pp 6 - 7.
 - 28 14 works were acquired over and above the prize-winners selected. "12 Americans Hit the Spot!" - Art News: XLIII (1944 - 45): 10; pp 14, 27. "\$11,000 Is Given to Art Winners" - New York Times: 26/7/1944; p 21.
 - 29 "Pepsi-Cola Portrait of America Competition" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 5; p 13. "Painting America's Portrait for \$15,200" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 15; p 13. "The Pepsi-Cola Prize Contest" - Art Digest: 15/12/1945; pp 28, 36.
 - 30 "Pepsi-Cola Presents 'Paintings of the Year' - Divides \$15,000 Purse" - Art Digest: 1/10/1946; p 9. "Art Brings Block-Long Line in Fifth Ave." - New York Times: 2/10/1946; p 27.
 - 31 "Pepsi-Cola Competition" - American Artist: 11 (1947): 9; p 46. "Paintings of Year Plans 4th Awards" - New York Times: 7/2/1947; p 21. "\$21,250 in Prizes Awarded to Art" - New York Times: 1/10/1947; p 32. "Pepsi-Cola Opens 4th Annual - Long on Prizes, Short on Competence" - Art Digest: 11/10/1947; p 9.
 - 32 "Pepsi Cola Competition" - Art News: XLVII (1948 - 49): 1; p 7. "Fifth and Best Pepsi-Cola Show" - Art Digest: 1/10/1948; p 9. Mack had initially refused to countenance the idea of paying rental fees, claiming that the benefits the corporation was conferring on the artist by exhibiting and publicising their work obviated any need for such payments on the company's part - see correspondence between Walter S. Mack Sr and Edith Halpert, 13/2/1947, 18/2/1947 & 25/2/1947 - a deliciously acerbic exchange of views. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 33 Instead work was chosen by Mack, his wife, McKinney (the director of the competitions, the heads of the Pepsi-Cola art department and the company's advertising agency - "Pepsi-Cola's Walter Mack" - Fortune: 5/11/1947; pp 126 - 180.
 - 34 American Art Annual: XXXVII; p 17. "14 Artists to Paint Keystone Scenes" - New York Times: 24/9/1946; p 33. Bernice Fitz-Gibbon: "DepARtment Stores ... meet me among the Matisses, Maggie" - Art in America: XLIV (1956): Spring; p 19.
 - 35 "Wisconsin's Cultural Dynamo" - Life: 14/1/1952; pp 71, 72. "Wisconsin Airscapes" - Life: 14/1/1951; pp 68 - 70.
 - 36 American Art Annual: XXXVI; p 12.
 - 37 After reproduction the works amassed were hung in the company's headquarters. "A Corporation Collects", exh. cat., American Federation of Arts (touring exhibition), 1959. Rush: op cit; p 363.
 - 39 Owned by the Rockefeller family.

- 40 Elizabeth McCausland Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number D384C. "Oil: 1940 - 1945" - Carnegie Magazine: May 1946; p 38.
- 41 "Oil at War" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 19; pp 15 - 18. "Oil Industry Commissions Art" - Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): 13; p 29. "Artists Recount the Story of Oil" - Art Digest: 15/1/1946; pp 5 - 7.
- 42 "The Pride of Tulsa" - Time: 4/8/1952; p 43. "The Jersey Company - III : Public Relations for the Long Haul" - Fortune: October 1951; pp 108 - 109. 44 Rush: *ibid*; p 363. "Industry Turns to Art ... And Vice Versa" - American Artist: 17 (1953) 7; pp 53, 65.
- 43 James Sloan Allen: The Romance of Commerce and Culture; pp 15 - 30.
- 44 "Modern Art in Design: Container Corporation", exh. cat., Art Institute of Chicago, 1946. T. Russell-Cobb: *op cit*; p 49. Elizabeth McCausland Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll number D384C.
- 45 Rosamund Frost: "This Business Ties Art Into a Neat Package" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 7; p 13.
- 46 "Pineapple for Papaya" - Time: 12/2/1940; p 42. F. Caspers: "Patrons at a Profit" - Art Digest: 1/5/1943; p 17.
- 47 Russell Lynes: "Suitable for Framing" - Harpers: February 1946; pp 162 - 163.
- 48 The method of selection was that several examples would be chosen, a copy-writer would write a suitable accompanying text to all the examples, then these would be sent to the company's head office for the final decision to be made by the corporation's executive.
- 49 American Art Annual: XXXVII; p 16. "Upjohn Collection Brings Fine Arts to an Audience of Ten Million" - Art Digest: 15/11/1945; p 17. "Upjohn Collection" - Atlanta Journal, 3/2/1946 - Clipping in Midtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 50 "Twentieth Century Medicis" - Art Digest: 15/5/1944; p 3. See also "Six Painters" - American Artist: 9 (1945): 4; p 16.
- 51 "State Department Sends Business-Sponsored Art as U S Envoys" - Art Digest: 15/1/1946; p 8. "Art Inc: American Paintings from Corporate Collections", exh. cat., Montgomery Museum, 1968; p 61.
- 52 The American Art Annual (XXXVII; p 16) states that at least a portion was sold to William Benton "for an undisclosed sum" in the late nineteen forties. Correspondence in the Downtown Gallery Papers between Estelle Mandel of the Associated American Artists Gallery and Edith Halpert, dated 18/5/1950 and 24/5/1950, suggests that some works were sold to Rochester University and to private individuals at this time. See also "Britannica Oils to be Auctioned" - New York Times: 7/12/1952; p 126.
- 53 "Pepsi-Cola: R I P" - American Artist: 13 (1949): 3; p 19.
- 54 Initially it had been announced that the collection would be presented to some public institution - E. J. Kahn: "More Bounce to the Ounce" - New Yorker: 1/7/1950; p 42.
- 55 Thenceforth these works formed the nucleus of their private collection. See Chapter 11.
- 56 Harold G. Vatter: United States Economy in the 1950s; pp 150 - 210. Joseph P. Crockett: The Federal Tax System of the United States; p 256.
- 57 Vance Packard: The Status Seekers; pp 114 - 118.
- 58 "Selections from the Reader's Digest Collection", exh. cat., Wildenstein Gallery, London, 14/1 - 8/2/1986.
- 59 Leonard Sloane: "Collecting Art at the Chase: Fine Art Stands for Good Business" - Art News: LXXVIII (1979): 5; pp 47 - 51.

- Katherine Kuh: "Chase Manhattan Bank Collection" - Art in America: April 1960; pp 69 - 74. "Chase Manhattan: Giant Bank - An Art Collector" - Art Voices: October 1962; p 30.
- 60 "The Corporate Splurge on Abstract Art" - Fortune: April 1960; p 139.
- 61 Ada Louise Huxtable: "Banker's Showcase" - Arts Digest: 1/2/1954; pp 12, 13. "The Modern Art of Business" - Fortune: March 1955; pp 98 - 103. "Business Buys American Art", exh. cat., Whitney Museum of American Art, 17/3 - 24/4/1961. John Gordon: "Business Buys American Art" - Art in America: XLIX (1960): 1; pp 88 - 93. The last article includes a list of companies then owners of modern and contemporary art.
- 62 "Pepsi-Cola Gallery. Calling Young Artists" - Art Digest: 1/8/1947; p 11. "Pepsi-Cola to Sponsor 'Opportunity Gallery'" - American Artist: 11 (1947): 7; p 37.
- 63 In all 26 of the works were sold for a total value of \$9,755, at prices ranging from \$25 to \$800. "Art at Meta-Mold" (typescript of press release). See also records of exhibition and sales, 1953. Otto and Eloise Spaeth Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. "Art at Meta-Mold" - Art in America: XLIV (195): 2; pp 36, 38, 63 - 65.
- 64 Aline B Louchheim: "Business as a Patron of the Arts" - New York Times: 7/6/1953: II; p 8.
- 65 Berenice Fitz-Gibbon: op cit; pp 18 - 25, 63.
- 66 Edith Halpert: To Art Editors, 30/9/1946 (typescript), copy in Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 67 Emily Tremaine: Paul Cummings, interview, 24/1/1973. Archives of American Art.
- 68 Life: 14/1/1952; p 71.
- 69 "Pepsi-Cola's Walter Mack" - Fortune: November 1947; p 178.
- 70 Russell Lynes: "Suitable for Framing" - Harpers: February 1946; p 164.
- 71 It must be noted that the publicity that Meta-Mold accrued in the early 1950s was either local in nature or concentrated upon the novelty of a company staging purchase exhibitions.

CHAPTER 15: INTRODUCTION

In the foregoing chapters one has concentrated upon a discussion of the 'support-system' in New York for modern art, and an analysis of how the individual components of each 'set' making up this system were situated within the whole. The measures used have either been the relation of the individual component of each 'set' to the basic 'support-system' roles of patron, gatekeeper and promoter, or the individual component's aesthetic orientation and attitudes toward art and its ownership. Such an analysis is, by nature, synthetic and synchronic. In portraying the underlying structural organisation, it does not give a true indication of the changes and developments which occurred over the two decades under consideration. Hence, it does not provide the full picture, for these were decades in which the New York art market achieved its mature form for the first time, and then underwent a process of consolidation and expansion.

The expansion of the art market under consideration can be deduced, initially, from the great expansion in the number of art establishments, whether private galleries or public museums. By 1940 all 3 of the New York museums concerned with modern art had opened their doors and, although their locations varied over the period under discussion, these remained the only significant ones in the period under discussion.^[1] However, the most immediate indicator of the growth of the New York art market is, of course, the aggregate of commercial galleries. In 1940, the number of

these in New York listed as presenting exhibitions in Art News was between 70 and 75 of which, however, fewer than 10 can be said to have been concerned primarily in either European or American modern art, with an additional number specialising in more conservative contemporary American painting or nineteenth century European art.[2] Of those concerned with modern art, the great majority had opened within the 8 years previous to 1940. The greater prosperity of the war years, further stimulated by the influx of European refugees, stimulated a far greater number of gallery openings than in previous years. There was some diminution in the rate of increase in the economically uncertain immediate post-war years. However, by 1948 critic Peyton Boswell estimated that there were 90 galleries in New York.[3] The greatest expansion in the number of galleries in New York came in the following decade. The critic Dore Ashton noted at the beginning of the nineteen fifties that there were some 100 galleries in New York, and by 1954 she was able to note some 115 in total, although at the former date she characterised only about 30 as "respectable".[4] By 1957, in the midst of increased activity in the art market, this total had increased to approximately 180 galleries.[5] A particular surge in openings occurred at the end of the decade, [6] and by the beginning of 1960 the New York Times estimated that the number had grown to some 275 galleries. However, of these, Ashton opined that only some 30 "participated in the active life of contemporary art" by exhibiting "works by contemporary artists who are not always big names" and that only about a dozen could be relied upon to present works of "indisputable quality".[7] The great majority of galleries opening in the later nineteen forties and nineteen fifties were concerned with the work of American (and most particularly younger or unknown) artists.[8]

An analysis of the figures reveals that the ever-increasing number of galleries was not accomplished by a simple process of addition, instead there was considerable flux as galleries came and went. Indeed, by the middle nineteen fifties only just over a dozen galleries which had been in existence twenty years earlier were still operating, although a fair percentage of those concerned with modern art which had opened in the later nineteen forties had survived. The growth in galleries, and the survival of some, can be attributed to a greater interest in modern art and a willingness to buy art works. The constant state of flux is perhaps due to the fact that, although only a limited investment was required of a dealer selling on commission, such dealers still had to have sufficient capitulation to cover not only their rental and day to day expenses for perhaps a year or two but also enough to survive the cash-flow problems which might result from slow payment by buyers: a level of investment which many obviously did not have.

The expansion of the number of private collectors would appear to have had some parallels with the growth of galleries, as one might expect of two 'organisation-sets' in such an essentially symbiotic relationship. Although commentators noted a considerable influx of new buyers during the war years, who were in the main drawn from the newly prosperous middle-classes,^[9] this apparent expansion of the market was not maintained in the immediate post-war years, as economic conditions began to exert some countervailing forces. It was not until the improved and relatively stable prosperity of the middle nineteen fifties that there was any really marked and sustained increase in the number of American art collectors, and art dealers and other commentators were able to note

an ever-increasing, and for once sustained, buoyancy in the New York art market, as will be seen in the following chapters.

In the following chapters one will discuss the history of the market for modern art, both European and American, in New York in the nineteen forties and nineteen fifties, as measured by those most concrete of indices, the auction house sale return and the commercial gallery asking and sale price (where available). In this history it will become obvious that the structure of the "support-system" and the efforts of individual components of this did indeed have some bearing upon the historical development of this market, together with a number of external factors such as economic conditions and cultural changes.

NOTES

- 1 With respect to the Metropolitan Museum, although George Hearn had given it two sums totalling \$250,000 in the early twentieth century, the income from which (\$10,000 per annum) was intended for use on the purchase of works by living American artists, the bequest was re-interpreted by the Museum trustees to allow purchases of works by American artists alive during Hearn's own lifetime, enabling them to continue concentrating upon work of the recent past. This policy was amended only in 1949, after the breakdown of the agreement between the Whitney Museum in 1948. But purchases by the Metropolitan cannot be said to have made any appreciable impression on the New York art world until the mid-1950s.
Calvin Tomkins: Merchants and Masterpieces; pp 295 - 313.
"The Metropolitan and Modern Art" - Life: 15/1/1951; pp 34 - 37.
- 2 Appendix B: Table I.
- 3 Peyton Boswell: quoted in Russell Coates: "End of Season" - New Yorker: 19/6/1948; p 83.
- 4 Dore Ashton: "Manhattan: Art's Avid New Capital" - Time: 29/11/1954; p 48.
- 5 Dore Ashton: "Painting Today in New York" - Cimaise: November/December 1956; p 7. Clarence Dean: "Art Galleries Enjoy Boom Here" - New York Times: 25/2/1957; p 1.
- 6 Eleanor Ward: letter to Joan Mitchell, 2/10/1959 - Stable Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 7 Dore Ashton: "Art: A Study of Figures" - New York Times: 26/1/1960; p 66.
Appendix B: Table II. In this only galleries which had proved to be relatively durable by this date and/or were of significance to the history of the New York art market have been listed.
By 1961 it was estimated that there were then more than 300 galleries in New York. Dore Ashton: The Life and Times of the New York School - A Cultural Reckoning; p 229.
This figure is also quoted in: "The Quantity of Culture" - Fortune: November 1961; p 127.
- 8 James T. Soby: "New York City: Art Capital" - Art in America: XLII (1954): 1; p 11.
- 9 Aline Louchheim: "Who Buys What in the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIII (1944 - 45): 10; pp 12 - 14, 23, 24. Idem: "Second Season of the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIV (1944- 45): 19; pp 9 - 11, 26.

CHAPTER 16: THE MARKET FOR MODERN EUROPEAN ART IN THE NINETEEN FORTIES AND NINETEEN FIFTIES

The market for European art in New York must be considered separately from that for native production for a number of organisational reasons. The first factor was the norm governing the commercial relationships between dealer and artist. It must be remembered that where the relation governing those between the New York dealer and the native contemporary artist was generally sale on consignment, in the case of European artists the American dealer was generally forced to abide by the rules of the so-called "French System" if they did not have to buy their stocks on the open market. This made the New York market for modern European art, and the price levels obtaining therein, indivisible from European art centres, in particular Paris, as prices in New York reflected demand on the Continent. This meant that trends in the New York market pertaining to European art were distanced, to an extent impossible for the localised market for native production, from United States economic cycles.

Furthermore, where the consignment norm meant that an American artist's work was available in only one gallery at a time, in the case of a European artist the different commercial norm made it possible for such work to be available in a number of outlets. This had the potential of creating the impression that an artist was critically and commercially notable, making him/her more attractive to potential collectors. The norm governing dealer-artist relationships also had the effect of making European art the dominant presence (within the modern context) in New York sale rooms, as sales were a major source of such work and as such an integral part of the whole market structure.

When discussing European modern art in the context of the New York art market in the nineteen forties and early nineteen fifties one generally means French art, more particularly the range from the Impressionists through the Post-Impressionists to the various twentieth century "isms" which the New York media tended to group together under the umbrella of the 'School of Paris'. Despite the presence in New York of a number of expatriate German dealers the work of the German twentieth century avant-garde artists was (with the exception of a few painters such as Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky) only imperfectly recognised, while tendencies such as Italian Futurism were hardly known at all. Of the French production which received the lion's share of exhibition (both commercial and institutional) exposure and media coverage Impressionism had had an established status in the United States for some 25 years, and Post-Impressionism the same for a little more than a decade (the event signalling this critical apotheosis was the initial exhibition of the Museum of Modern Art in 1929, a decade after Vincent van Gogh was shown in New York for the first time in 1920 and 17 years after the Armory Show had first introduced the American public to the latest developments in European art). The avant-gardes of the early twentieth century, promoted by the efforts of pioneer collectors such as Katherine Dreier (of Société Anonyme) and Albert Gallatin in the nineteen twenties and by an ever-increasing band of dealers in the nineteen twenties and nineteen thirties, and presented by the Museum of Modern Art within an historical framework - in exhibitions such as "Cubism and Abstract Art" (1936) and "Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism" (1936) - were becoming increasingly established (if in a somewhat piecemeal fashion) by the early nineteen forties. By the early nineteen forties the reputations of

individual painters such Georges Braque, Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso and Georges Rouault were well established; and during the rest of the decade their work attracted the most sustained critical attention in both the specialist and mass-circulation press. With the arrival of emigré artists in New York there was some shift from the effective backward-looking character of American artistic comment, and more attention was paid than hitherto to the more recent work of European avant-garde artists. In particular, the abstract spectrum of Surrealism, a style which until then had been primarily associated with the more figurative work of artists such as Salvador Dali, began to receive more exposure. By the second half of the decade painters such as Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Fernand Léger and Joan Miró had also attained the critical status of 'modern masters' (apart from the efforts of the individual dealers concerned, all had been given one or more retrospectives at New York institutions, while Kandinsky had been displayed almost continuously at the Museum of Non-Objective Painting).

The commercial status of various modern tendencies and individual artists in New York can be related to their promulgation by tastemakers in a number of ways - for instance, the frequency and thoroughness of their presentation in retrospectives and survey exhibitions; or the degree of familiarity which the public had with the work in question, which might be a function of stylistic characteristics or might relate to the length of time which an artist had been represented by a New York dealer or had been written about in various publications. Moreover, the well-publicised peaks attained by European paintings at public auction accorded with the value judgements conveyed by the exhibition schedule of institutions such as the Museum of Modern Art (via the composition of its

exhibition schedule and permanent collections), especially in the earlier years of the period under consideration. The general rule of thumb in this respect was that it was the work of the Impressionists, the Post-Impressionists, and 'modern masters' such as Henri Matisse which attracted the greatest level of collector interest and was associated with the highest price levels. Work which was stylistically radical or of a more recent vintage remained situated in the more modest price brackets. The only major exception to this rule was the handful of abstract painters promulgated by the more prestigious European-oriented dealers and given retrospectives by the New York modern art museums within the early years of the period under consideration - Kandinsky, Klee, Miró and Mondrian are perhaps the most important in this respect. On occasion this stylistic/commercial differentiation could cut across the oeuvre of a single painter. The most dramatic exemplar of this must be Picasso, whose 'Blue', 'Rose' and 'neo-classical' period works attracted 'blue-chip' attention whilst, for instance, his cubist or post World War II works generally remained within more modest price brackets (with the exception of the most important museum-quality works).

In an attempt to plot trends in the market for European art in New York one has been forced to rely in large measure upon the only available constant indicator of such developments, the public auction sale.^[1] This has created some problems, for as a 1955/1956 Fortune survey of "The Great International Art Market" ^[2] observed with respect to the New York art market, after having consulted a major New York auctioneer:

"An auction price is a very special price and must never be confused with a market price. The purpose of an auction is to get the maximum amount of cash the fastest way. On the whole, the auction price is below the market price.....

The auction serves to settle the average price levels for low-priced works of similar size and quality over a period of years. This level becomes, in the hands of a dealer, a figure that by rule of thumb is multiplied by two or three in arriving at a private asking price. But one can occasionally work the other way - to establish certain maximum levels, which are brought about by frenzied bidding at exceptional sales ...". [3]

With these qualifications in mind (for they do seem valid from the data available), attention will be concentrated upon the handful of notable auctions which occurred at intervals over these two decades - sales in which works set new price ceilings for the artists in question, at which the publicity arising from the sale served to set market trends, and where the quality of the pieces offered would appear to indicate that the best works had not been winnowed out before the public sale - with an indication of price movements and the price levels obtaining in private galleries where they are available.

The start of the war-time boom in the New York art market appears to have been in the 1940 - 1941 season, when the total realised by auction sales at the Parke-Bernett Galleries was \$3,606,381. - a 50 per cent improvement on the previous season (itself the most active season since that of 1929 - 1930). The most notable sale in the modern field was that of the Mrs Cornelius J. Sullivan collection of late nineteenth and early twentieth century European and American painting, which alone realised a total of \$148,730.[4] This sale attracted considerable public attention because not only did it contain the remains of the collection amassed by one of the founders of the Museum of Modern Art but some of the prices realised were considered to be in the 'old master' bracket. For instance, the two highest prices realised were the \$27,000 paid by Walter Chrysler Jr for Paul Cézanne's "Mme Cézanne" (1872 - 79, 22 1/2" x 18 1/2") and the \$19,000

fetched by Vincent van Gogh's "Mlle Ravoux" (1890, 19 3/4" x 19 3/4"), while other works by post-impressionist and School of Paris painters realised between \$4,700 and \$1,600.^[5] The 1941 - 1942 season witnessed a continuation and intensification of the activity of the previous season, and the total realised by Parke-Bernett Galleries increased by another 10 per cent to \$4,007,823.^[6] However, the most sought after work in these early war years was primarily that of the old masters, although some of the more prestigious names of nineteenth century European painting did attract large sums, and the highest price of the season for a painting was reported to be the \$175,000 paid by Dr Albert C. Barnes for Auguste Renoir's "Mussel Fishers at Berneval" (1898).^[7]

The major catalyst of this increasing buoyancy in the New York art market between 1940 and 1942 would appear to be the presence of European emigrés (who had in the main arrived in New York between 1939 and 1941) whose purchasing was stimulated by their intention to provide themselves with conveniently portable and convertible assets for the day when the war was over and they might return to their homelands. Indeed, in the 1942 - 1943 season such buyers were estimated to constitute approximately one third of all purchasers on the New York art market.^[8] However, the buying activity of the displaced European collectors may have provided the stimulus for wealthy Americans, hard-pressed at the time by high inflation and a depressed stock market, also to put their money into objects rather than cash or shares.

These three years can be considered as the first stage of the war-time boom in the art market, while the subsequent 3 art seasons formed the second. During this latter period, from the 1943 - 1944

season onward, total sales at Parke-Bernett climbed from \$6.15 million to reach \$6.5 million in the 1945 - 1946 season, the last of the boom (a rise of some \$4 million over the total for 1940). During this time the volume of gallery sales increased by a reported 37 per cent, until in 1946 they were estimated to be some 300 per cent higher than in 1940.^[9] Prices rose dramatically, with auction values increasing some 30 per cent to 50 per cent in the 1943 - 1944 season alone.^[10] Such price rises were the result of a combination of increasing levels of demand, as those enriched by the war entered the art market and swelled the ranks of potential buyers, and the increasing scarcity of good quality European works, caused by the fact that the only works of this type available had been in the country since 1940 (although the rising prices did encourage the appearance of some works on the market). One remarkable example of the price increases during the war-time art market boom is the career of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec's "Femme Dans le Jardin de M. Forest" (1889, 24 1/2" x 21 1/2"), which had sold at the Sullivan Sale of December 1939 for \$5,700 but went at the dispersal of the collection of Sir William van Horne in January 1946 for \$27,500.^[11] Similarly, the sale for \$24,500 of Paul Cézanne's "Mme Cézanne" (1885-87, 18 1/4" x 15") at the latter sale meant that its market value had increased by \$8,500 (approximately one-half) in less than two years since April 1944, when it had appeared in the sale of surplus works from the collection of the Museum of Modern Art.^[12]

Because of the special nature of the war-time economy the art market boom of these years was unusually affected by local conditions to the exclusion of others. The second stage of the boom differed from the first in that "buying by European refugees

was markedly less than in the previous two years...",[13] while it was noted that a considerable number of new American buyers had begun to appear on the auction scene in 1943 and 1944 [14] as personal prosperity increased sharply as a result of the war-time boom conditions. [15] The exceptionally high levels of personal liquidity associated with this boom led to an emphasis upon the purchase of luxury goods such as jewellery, furs and (most important from the point of view of this study) art objects as these were not affected by the war-time price or supply controls imposed in 1942.[16] Within the context of the market for European art, this trend led to a considerable increase not just in the prices of 'top-drawer' works but in the volume of sales (at auction) of the 'bread-and-butter' mid-priced or cheaper categories. Demand for the best-quality and therefore highest-priced works was also affected by the introduction of wide-ranging income taxation in 1942 - 1943 for this encouraged wealthier American collectors to attempt, for the first time, to use art purchases and the donation thereof, as a means of defraying income tax liabilities. Such a trend was not confined solely to the higher number of private purchases but may be detected in a greater volume of museum acquisitions, as institutional acquisition funds were swollen by donations inspired by the same factor.

In the 1943 - 1944 season there were a number of significant sales, of which the most important in terms of pecuniary results were those of the Frank Crowninshield Collection (\$101,750 for 186 paintings, drawings and lithographs in October 1943) and that of 'surplus' works belonging to the Museum of Modern Art (\$108,870 for 108 paintings in May 1944).[17] It must be stressed that at this time (in the auction context) prices in the high four figure

brackets or above were restricted to nineteenth century works (with the possible exceptions of major paintings by Henri Matisse and Picasso), while twentieth century paintings occupied the middle ranges and below. For instance, the star of the Museum of Modern Art sale was Cézanne, for a remarkable \$16,000 was paid for "Mme Cézanne" (1885-87, 18 1/4" x 15"), with a further 3 oils realising between \$5,300 and \$4,100 and 3 watercolours \$1,550 to \$1,250.^[18] At the Crowninshield sale the most obvious success was his group of works by Andre Dunoyer de Segonzac, for 27 paintings and drawings garnered \$31,945 alone. The highest single price paid \$7,250 for this painter's "L'Église et la Marne" (1927, 31 3/4" x 39 1/2"), while 8 other paintings by the same artist realised prices of between \$4,000 and \$1,250. The other highest prices paid at the same sale were \$4,800 each for Modigliani's "Mme Hebuterne" (1917, 28 1/2" x 23") and a Picasso "Portrait of Georges Braque" (1909, 24 1/2" x 20"); ^[19] while the highest price at the sale of the Maurice Speiser collection of twentieth century painting in 1944 was \$4,900 for Modigliani's "Garçon à la Veste Bleue" (1918, 36 1/2" x 24").^[20]

If one is to generalise about the commercial status of more avant-garde painting (whether abstract, cubist or surrealist), one finds that, when it appeared at auction (which was relatively rarely), it was unusual for such work to realise more than the low four figures in this period of war-time boom. For instance, at the only sale to include any significant numbers of such works, that of works belonging to Walter P. Chrysler in March 1945, although \$2,700 was paid for a 1918 Georges Braque "Still Life: Grapes" (21" x 27") and \$1,400 for a Mondrian "Composition, 1936" (48" x 23 1/2"), a large Miró "Composition, 1927" (38" x 51 1/2") only

fetched \$800.[21] With respect to the latter two works, it should be pointed out that the relatively high price attained by the Mondrian must owe something to the publicity the artist was then receiving as a result of a memorial retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art. However, the relative rarity of cubist and abstract art at auction makes it difficult to ascertain the true 'côte' of such artists, although paintings in such a mould appear to have been in the middle four figure range in the gallery arena. For instance, in 1944 Fernand Léger's recent "Les Plongeurs" (90" x 68") realised \$4,500, a Roger de la Fresnaye such as the 1914 "La Bouteille de Porto" (28 1/2" x 36") could sell for \$5,000, a Braque cubist work such as "The Battleship" (1910-11, 31 1/2" x 23") could realise \$3,500, [22] a characteristic Robert Delaunay "Disques" (1912, 52" x 52") could fetch \$2,000, while the price of a Miró in 1944 - 1945 was perhaps twice its auction equivalent.[23]

The 1945 - 1946 season was the last to benefit from the general economic prosperity which accompanied the war, and the 1946 - 1947 season began a period far more mixed in character which lasted until the early nineteen fifties. The most immediate sign of this is the gradual decline in the total realised by auction sales. For instance, the total at Parke-Bernett in 1946 - 1947 was only \$6,019,153. compared with the \$6.68 million of the previous season. In the next year this gross dropped below six million dollars (\$5.2 million) for the first time since the 1942 - 1943 season, and did not break through the \$6 million barrier again until the middle nineteen fifties.[24]

At first sight it might appear that these declining annual auction grosses indicate that the post-war period witnessed a simple

reversal of the market trends of the war-time boom period (an expansion in the number of collectors, increasing demand, and rising prices). To the extent that the vicissitudes of auction grosses are related to more generalised economic cycles - the boom of the immediate post-war years, the recession of the end of the nineteen forties and the turbulence which accompanied the Korean War - they indicate something about the general level of activity of the New York art market. However, it must be stressed that these figures do not tell the whole story. A closer examination of these totals reveals that they are a reliable guide only to the volume of sales and the level of local demand, they indicate little about the development of price levels for modern European art during this period. Moreover, what one discerns upon further analysis is that there were two, apparently contradictory, trends present. The first was that demand was down and that the number of auction sales and collection dispersals fell. Second, although a 10 to 20 per cent real fall in prices was noted in the 1946 - 1947 season, a year which was particularly affected by a slump in demand across the board, [25] thenceforth a good proportion of the prices of modern European art escalated despite the persistent softness in demand. The decline in sales volume and overall demand can be traced back to local factors similar to those which concurrently influenced the market for American art, most notably the decline in the later nineteen forties of the importance of the, then newly-prosperous, upper-middle class collector who had acted as such a significant stimulant on the second stage of the war-time art market boom.[27] This slackness of demand had a most dramatic effect in depressing the prices of the more bread-and-butter examples of the twentieth century School of Paris.[26]

Within the context of modern European art it was the Impressionists and Post-Impressionist painters who continued to command the highest prices in the post-war half-decade. Good quality works in these areas were scarce, and by 1948 it was considered nearly impossible to find larger Impressionist or Post-Impressionist paintings of any note in a gallery for less than \$10,000, while good quality works fetched much higher sums.[28] At the top end of this market, on Fifty-Seventh Street, in the 1947 - 1948 season the sale of a large Renoir "Seated Bather" (1885) to a private collector for \$125,000 attracted a great deal of attention, as did the similar price-tags in 1948 on an Edouard Degas portrait and on van Gogh's "Self Portrait with Bandaged Ear" (1889).[29]

However, the record prices paid at auction were considerably lower, even if very high in relation to the rest of this market. The highest price paid in the 1946 - 1947 season was the \$20,000 paid for Renoir's "La Mosquée à Algere" (1882) (although other characteristic Impressionist works went at prices between \$3,000 and \$10,000), [30] while the highest price of the 1948 - 1949 auction season was the \$25,000 paid for Degas' "Ballet School" (1874 - 78).[31] During this latter season Aline Louchheim remarked upon the remarkable increases in value of some Impressionist works which had re-appeared at intervals over the years since the beginning of the war-time boom. For instance, she noted that a small Renoir still life which had realised \$3,100 at the Major Bowes Sale in 1946 had gone for \$4,000 in early 1949, while the same artist's "Environs de Cagnes" (1907 - 8), which had sold for \$5,200 at the same sale, had sharply increased in value over 3 years, to sell in the 1948 - 1949 season for \$9,250. Indeed, she considered that by this latter season even a moderately significant work by this painter was

likely to fetch about \$20,000.[32]

In the half-decade after the war it was noted that works by such twentieth century 'School of Paris' painters as Braque, Juan Gris, Miró, Picasso and Georges Rouault increasingly "attracted buyers and crowds".[33] This was due to the fact that, although price levels for the better works of these artists were rising steadily, by the end of the nineteen forties and beginning of the nineteen fifties these painters were becoming ever more attractive as the prices of earlier painters moved increasing out of the reach of any but the very wealthiest collectors.[34] The Joseph von Sternberg sale in November 1949 in particular focused attention upon the growing demand for works by such artists, for the \$12,500 paid for a Modigliani "Reclining Nude" (1919, 28 1/2" x 45 7/8") by the Museum of Modern Art was an auction record for such a work.[35] But most twentieth century 'School of Paris' works offered at auction did not share the art-historical status or scarcity value of this work, and it was rare for the paintings offered to fetch more than a middle four figure range.

Within the gallery context, one discovers that by the 1948 - 1949 season the largest or most important works by Matisse were fetching up to \$20,000 [36] while medium-sized works by the same painter fetched up to \$10,000. The only other twentieth century 'School of Paris' painter who shared his critical eminence was Picasso, whose paintings fetched from \$3,000 up to \$20,000 (depending upon period, significance and size) - for instance, a cubist work such as "Vive la France" (1914) could realise \$14,000 whilst a 1945 painting such as "Still Life with Skull" (29" x 36") only fetched \$6,500.[37] The 'cote' of Matisse owed much to

the fact that he was already widely acclaimed in Europe by World War I and receiving substantial patronage (including some from Americans) by the early nineteen twenties. The price levels of Picasso in New York, which tended to be higher than his contemporaries and/or stylistic confreres, must have owed a great deal to the fact that he received the lion's share of critical and institutional coverage of artists of his generation (for instance, 7 shows of various kinds at the Modern between 1939 and 1950, compared to one for Braque and none for any other Cubist in the same years).^[38] For instance, the sale price of a Roger de la Fresnaye such "La Vie Conjugale" (1912, 38" x 46 1/4") was \$11,000 and that of Gris' "Portrait of Picasso" (1912, 36 3/4" x 29 1/4") was \$12,000, ^[39] while it was apparently still possible to acquire good cubist works by Leger for a few thousand dollars in the late nineteen forties.^[40]

The higher critical status of abstract art in the post-war years, as it began to be considered as the end of the historical progression of modernist art led to a higher profile for such art in New York and greater exposure in New York galleries, with some improvement in the market for artists whose work fell within this category. For instance, in the 1949 - 1950 season Janis was asking \$5,000 - \$15,000 for work by Mondrian. Although, according to this dealer, he experienced considerable difficulty in selling this artist's work even in the low four figure range, this latter price level was a substantial improvement on the \$600 for which Valentine Dudensing had sold "Victory Boogie Woogie" (1942 - 44) to the Tremaines in 1944 (just after the artist's death), if not much more than the \$1,400 fetched by "Composition, 1936" at the Chrysler sale in March 1945).^[43]

However, the market was still depressed for modern art for which there had not yet been any accumulation of critical and institutional promulgation. For instance, in 1949 Alfred Barr thought that there was "almost no market for Futurist paintings in this country", and it was rare for even a most important example of this style to fetch more than a low four figure range.^[41] This situation must be ascribed to the lack of coverage of this art, for it was only in this year that the Modern staged its first exhibition of twentieth century Italian art, and only one New York gallery (Rose Fried) handled such work with any regularity. With respect to German art, if the 1949 sale of the von Sternberg collection was any indication, there was still little demand at decade's end for this art for, with the exception of a Klee oil, "Côte Meridionale" (1925, 14 1/2" x 18 3/4"), which fetched \$1,400, no work of this kind realised more than a mid-range three figure sum.^[42] Klee's higher status, was attributable to his critical position in New York as a Surrealist (although his work had been promoted within the context of twentieth century German art over the previous decades by New York galleries such as those of J.B. Neumann and Karl Nierendorf), and to the fact that the Modern alone had staged two retrospectives of his work in the nineteen forties (1940, 1949).

The seeming contradiction that the prices for European modern art rose steadily in New York in the immediate post-war years, particularly with respect to the better works by well-known painters, at a time when demand was stagnant or declining demonstrates the role the Paris market played in setting New York price levels. If the softness in demand in New York did affect price

levels, this manifested itself primarily in a relatively lower escalation of prices compared to Paris for, despite their improvements, the top prices in New York for modern European paintings were generally somewhat lower than those in Europe. This differential in price levels between the two art centres in the immediate post-war years can be traced to some of the economic circumstances influencing the Parisian art market. The post-war economic situation on the Continent was extremely volatile in the first few years after V-E Day, with food and fuel shortages, currency instability and inflation. France was especially hard-hit by these trends: wholesale price increases were ten times greater there than in the United States and United Kingdom over the decade and food prices rose 245 per cent between August 1945 and August 1948 alone,^[45] while the French Franc in 1948 was officially worth only 12 per cent of its 1937 Dollar value.^[46] Such volatility encouraged Europeans to divert as much as possible of their assets away from vulnerable currency and stocks to gold and objects such as art works which the previous depression had proved to be less susceptible to depreciatory forces, thus creating an art market boom in Paris. It was not until mid 1948, after the Bretton Woods Agreement ushered in international exchange stability, that inflation and depreciation ceased to be such influential pressures on the European/Parisian art market.

In the early nineteen fifties, contiguous with the cessation of hostilities in Korea, Hiram Parke of Parke-Bernett was able to note the "increasing attendance which precedes sales at our galleries, and the large number of new buyers this season".^[47] From the 1953 - 1954 season auction house grosses and the volume of sales began to climb again for the first time in some years, with an increase of

\$1.2 million in 1954 - 1955, [48] until by the 1956 - 1957 season the gross realised by sales at Parke-Bernett Galleries had risen to an all-time high of just over \$7 million. Concurrently it was estimated that the number of pictures sold by commercial galleries had increased by perhaps 500 per cent over a decade.[49] Although there was a recession the year following, the sale house gross in this season managed to improve further to \$7.2 million, [50] of which some \$2.6 millions were raised by the sale of some 2000 paintings (the star sale of the season was undoubtedly that of the collection of Georges Lurcy, held in November 1957, which grossed \$1,708,500 for 65 French paintings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries).[51] Sales continued to be buoyant into the next season (1958 - 1959), and by the autumn of 1958 Time was able to report "a boom in art sales that is unparalleled in living memory." [52] The most remarkable manifestation of this boom in New York was the auction sale of the collection of hotelier Arnold Kirkeby in November 1958, which alone raised \$1,548,500 on some 30 Impressionist and early twentieth century School of Paris paintings. By the end of the season the total realised by sales at Parke-Bernett Galleries was \$10.2 millions, of which \$4.3 millions had been grossed by 1550 paintings.[53] Without such a remarkable sale, the gross the following season was somewhat reduced at \$9.2 million, of which just over \$3 million had been paid for some 1950 paintings.[54]

Mention of the high auction totals realised in 1957 and 1958 respectively brings one to an examination of the continuing, even intensifying, escalation of prices in the New York art market for European art in the nineteen fifties. These rises were particularly marked at the 'blue-chip' end of market. At the

Lurcy sale in November 1957, the record prices paid included \$200,000 for Renoir's "La Serre" (1874, 23 1/4" x 28 3/4"), \$180,000 for Paul Gauguin's "Mau Taporo" (1892, 35" x 26"), \$92,000 for Claude Monet's "Femme Dans Un Jardin" (1881, 33 1/4" x 26 1/2"), and \$70,000 each for Bonnard's "Still Life With Cat" (1920, 35 1/2" x 29 1/2") and Edouard Vuillard's "Aux Tuilleries" (1900, 14 1/4" x 13").^[55] At the dispersal of the Kirkeby collection the highest prices realised were the \$152,000 for a 1903 Picasso "Mother and Child" (39 1/2" x 29"), \$125,000 for Cézanne's "Garçon Couché" (1882-87, 21 1/4" x 32 1/2"), and \$105,000 for Renoir's 1881 "Jardin à Sorrento" (26 1/8" x 32 1/2"). New York auction house record-breaking prices were also paid for works by other School of Paris painters - in particular, a Bonnard "Fenêtre Ouverte" (1934, 40" x 28 1/2") fetched \$94,000 and two Modigliani portraits went for \$66,000 and \$65,000 respectively, while a Rouault "Crépuscule: Paysage Légendaire" (1937, 40 1/2" x 20 1/2") fetched \$62,000 and a 'fauve' Vlaminck "River Scene" \$60,000. However, the \$65,000 fetched by a 1911 Matisse still life, "Fleurs et Céramique" (1911) was apparently considered to be as much as one-third below its projected estimate.^[56]

The extent of the record-breaking nature of these prices can be judged if one compares them with the highest prices attained by modern French art at New York auctions up until the middle nineteen fifties. For example, the highest single sum realised by then was the \$40,000 paid in May 1953 for Renoir's "La Fête de Pan" (1879, 26 1/4" x 36 1/4"), followed by the \$37,000 paid for a late work by the same painter, "La Femme à la Rose" (1918, 32" x 25 1/2") at the same sale.^[57] By the middle nineteen fifties the record for a Cezanne was still the \$27,000 paid at the Sullivan sale in 1939

for "Mme Cézanne" (1872 - 77); [58] while only 3 other works had realised more than \$20,000 at auction by 1955.[59] Moreover, the sums recorded at the Lurcy and Kirkeby sales demonstrate the extent of the price escalation of a number of French artists over the preceding decade.

Previous to the Lurcy sale the highest price realised by a Bonnard had been the \$17,500 paid at the 1955 James sale for "Femme aux Mimeuses" (1922, 19" x 24 1/2") while that for Vuillard was the \$11,500 realised by "Chez les Hessel, Leur Petit Salon" (1905 - 11, 26" x 46") at the Goldstein sale in summer 1956. The record prices of the Lurcy sale indicate something like a fifteen-fold increase in the price levels of significant quality works by these two painters since the boom seasons of the middle nineteen forties. [60] Furthermore, they suggest that a considerable escalation had occurred in the middle nineteen fifties as, for instance, Bonnard's prices had managed only a seven-fold rise between 1943 and 1954, during which period the sale price for "The Yellow Screen" (1917, 53 1/2" x 27 1/2") increased from \$2,000 (at the Crowninshield sale) to \$14,000.[61] Similar rises were experienced with respect to Modigliani, in whose case the sums paid for the two portraits at the Kirkeby sale indicate an approximate fourteen-fold increase over the highest prices paid at auction for equivalent works in the previous decade, [62] and Soutine, whose work, while gaining twelve or fourteen-fold by the late nineteen fifties, had only shown an eight-fold increase between 1944 and 1954 (when a landscape which had been sold at the Chrysler sale of the former year for \$2,500 went at the Campbell sale of the latter year for \$20,000).[63] The highest price paid for a significant Utrillo 'white period' painting, \$28,000 for "Le Lapin Agile à Montmartre" (1913, 23" x 30

3/4"), and the \$17,000 - \$10,000 range achieved by other urban scenes by this artist, at both the Kirkeby and Lurcy sales, indicates that equivalent works by this painter had improved their value ten-fold since 1947 - 1948, when the record price then paid for a Utrillo had been \$2,800 for "La Rue Norvins" (1912, 29" x 20"), at a time when other good-sized views of Paris fetched \$1,500 - \$2,400.^[64] However, the \$30,000 paid for the Segonzac still-life included in the Kirkeby sale signified only a four-fold increase in this painter's top auction prices over the fifteen years since the then record-breaking Crowninshield sale of 1943.^[65]

The varying rates of increase in values shown by these artists reflects in large measure the proportionate changes in their art historical statuses over these years. Although relatively well established by the early nineteen forties, the "classic" status of Matisse and Picasso, at least in the opinion of the Modern (one of the most important tastemakers), would appear to have been reinforced by the sale of works by these painters by the Modern to the Metropolitan Museum in 1948 (under the terms of the Three Museum Agreement). The European work which continued to improve in status in America in both critical and commercial senses was that which was seen as having some aesthetic relevance to contemporary trends. For instance, the more expressionist realism of Soutine and Rouault, which received a good deal of both critical and exhibition attention in the nineteen forties and fifties (the former as shown by the Modern in 1948, the latter in 1945 and 1953), continued to receive considerable critical attention as expressionism of both a figurative and an abstract kind was the most important tendency critically within the context of recent

developments in both Europe and America. In contrast, the low improvement in Segonzac's values is attributable to the relatively high record price attained by his work at the Crowninshield sale (a level attributable at least in part to the status of the selling collector), but also reflects the fact that although this painter had been extremely popular in the pre World War II years as an exponent of a painterly realism with strong links to the French tradition, along with the later (but not Fauve) work of André Derain and Vlaminck, from the nineteen forties onwards such work received almost no critical or institutional coverage as it had been eclipsed in art-historical terms. On the whole the more conventional painters of the School of Paris such as Utrillo suffered from the same devaluing forces, although romantic concepts such as the 'peintre maudit' made this painter's 'White Period' works and those of Modigliani sought after. The latter, however, also benefitted from the continuing art-historical prestige, as formally significant in relation to Cubism, conferred upon him by the Modern.^[66]

One has noted that in the nineteen forties prices in New York were considered to be significantly lower than their European equivalents. However, the Lurcy and Kirkeby sales marked a new situation in which the New York auction market had become a much more integrated and important part of the international art market and a centre where auction sales were for the first time capable of setting international records. In this respect the Lurcy sale must be considered as the successor to 3 sales held previously in Paris which had all set price ceilings - the Gabriel Coenacq Sale of May 1952, whereat 302 million Francs (equivalent to \$860,000) had been realised, and the 1957 sales of the Margaret T. Biddle and Willhelm Weintraub collections which respectively accrued the equivalents of

\$874,000 for 45 paintings and \$914,256 for 56 modern works. The individual record set at the Cœnacq sale had been 33 million French francs (\$93,974) for a Cézanne still life, "Pommes et Bisquits" (1880 - 82, 18" x 21 1/2"), [67] while at the Biddle sale 5 years later \$297,000 had been paid for Gauguin's "Still Life with Apples" (1901) (a painting which the collector had acquired in New York in 1953 for \$80,000). [68] Next to the Kirkeby sale the most important sale in 1958 was the London dispersal of the collection of American banker Jakob Goldschmidt, when 7 Impressionist and post-impressionist paintings realised a total of £781,000 (equivalent to \$2,186,800) - with £220,000 (\$616,000) paid for Cézanne's "Garçon au Gilet Rouge" (1890 - 95, 36 1/4" x 28 3/4"), and £132,000 (\$369,600) for Van Gogh's "Jardin Public à Arles" (1888, 28 3/4" x 36 1/4"). [69] The final record-setting auction of the decade was New York dispersal of the Baroness Chrysler le Foy collection in late 1959 when \$255,000 was paid by a North American collector for Renoir's "Daughters of Durand Ruel" (1882, 32" x 25 3/4"). [70]

Indeed prices were escalating so dramatically by the later nineteen fifties that the dealer Edith Halpert in a 1958 letter confessed that

"The entire price situation has me in utter confusion. Once again the town is buzzing with mad prices of pictures within the last two weeks - the \$616,000 paid for the Cezanne (sic) and the other figures for the balance of six pictures in the same sale ranging from \$182,000 to \$369,600. In addition, Sam Kootz is said to have sold two of the five Picassos in his current show at \$75,000 each, while Rosenberg has reported a number of sales in his De Stijl show at \$20,000 and over". [71]

However, although the auction prices of the latter nineteen fifties were so high, as a rule during the nineteen fifties they were still not quite as high as those for equivalent works on Fifty-Seventh Street. For instance, the 'blue period' Picasso which realised the

highest price in the sale of his collection had cost Kirkeby \$185,000 when he had acquired it from a dealer in 1957 ('Blue' and 'Rose' period oils by Picasso were regularly priced at from \$125,000 upwards at this time), an effective loss of \$33,000 (although the same painting had been available in 1955 for only \$45,000).^[72] In relation to the Lurcy sale, at which a Gauguin realised \$180,000, in 1958 it was reported that paintings by Gauguin had been sold in the previous year for between \$200,000 and \$275,000.^[73] In the 1955 - 1956 season the David Rockefellers reputedly bought Cézanne's "Boy in a Red Vest" (1890-95, 32" x 25 1/2") for a "bargain" \$180,000.^[74] In the 1954 - 1955 season Alfred Barr, in a letter to a private collector, described the \$60,000 asking price for a largish (30" x 40") Degas oil (of unspecified subject) as "reasonable".^[75] In 1954, Nelson Rockefeller paid \$100,000 for Henri Rousseau's "The Dream", a four-fold increase in the price of this artist's equivalent works, if one remembers that the Museum of Modern Art had paid \$20,000 for "The Sleeping Gypsy" in 1939.^[76] However, it would seem safe to assume that by the latter nineteen fifties the top auction prices had escalated to such high levels that there was little room for the large margins of difference that had been the norm in earlier years, especially at the top end of the market.

By the mid-fifties the price levels of the more critically prestigious, and most often exhibited, painters of the early twentieth century French avant-gardes had achieved price levels near those for the Post-impressionists in the middle to later nineteen forties. In January 1955 James Thrall Soby reported that a Matisse had reputedly sold for \$75,000 that winter, a near quadrupling in price over a quarter century for works of equivalent

quality. Also that season a Bonnard had been reputedly sold by a dealer for \$42,000 and a Modigliani figure piece was on offer at a dealer's for \$45,000. In all, Soby estimated that prices for Bonnard, Matisse, Picasso and Rouault had tripled or quadrupled since World War II.^[77] By the 1953 - 1954 season significant cubistic works had prices on Fifty Seventh Street of perhaps \$18,000 to \$22,000, ^[78] with a work such as Gris' "Two Pierrots" (1922, 39 1/2" x 25 1/2") retailing at \$16,000, and Braque's "Bouteille de Rhum" (1918) for \$14,000, although it was still possible to obtain a work such as Gris' "Bottle of Bass" (1925) for \$6,500.^[79] In the same season, Picasso's more recent production was priced somewhat lower than his Blue period to cubist works, with a large 1950 "Landscape" (130" x 97") selling for \$12,000, ^[80] and the artist's "Portrait of Dora Maar" (1941, 16" x 13") for \$5,000.^[81]

However, the prosperity of the middle nineteen fifties further stimulated the boom in the art market, and there appears to have been a considerable escalation in the price ceilings of the aforementioned 'modern masters' in the later nineteen fifties, and Picasso and Braque became the first living painters of the School of Paris to attain six-figure prices in New York. By 1956, an important cubist Picasso, "Girl with Mandolin" (1910, 39 1/2" x 29") could fetch \$98,000. ^[82] In summer 1957 a very large 1913 cubist painting by Braque was reputedly on offer at a New York gallery for \$100,000.^[83] This would appear to indicate a seven-fold increase in price levels for major cubist paintings by the best-known artists in little more than a half-decade.^[84] In the same years even medium-sized recent works by the former painter

could realise approximately \$40,000. [85] At the same time Braque's most recent major paintings were apparently sold wet off the easel for between \$65,000 and \$75,000, while even a "fair-sized" quality work by him might fetch \$18,000.[86] By the end of the decade a large 1914 Léger might fetch approximately \$40,000. [87] However, price rises by the more traditional figurative painter associated with the School of Paris were much smaller, and by the late nineteen fifties major works by artists such as Jules Pascin were being offered at between \$15,000 and \$20,000.[88]

The substantial increases registered by those artists of a more abstract mien in the second half of the nineteen forties continued into the nineteen fifties; and by the middle of the decade the prices of other European painters had increased at an even more remarkable rate as abstraction became, not only the dominant trend in contemporary art, but to be seen as the culmination of the historical progression of modern art historical development. Among the 'older' generation, Kandinsky's prices for equivalent works had increased about eight-fold since 1930, and works which had been valued at about \$14,000 in 1948, and might have sold for little more than a low four-figure sum in the early nineteen forties, were estimated to be worth \$45,000 a decade later. Even more dramatically, in 1958, the highest price to have been paid in New York for a major Kandinsky was rumoured to be \$65,000.[89] The majority of this improvement would appear to have occurred in the nineteen fifties, perhaps helped by the new critical respectability of Kandinsky's long-time promoter, the Guggenheim Museum (Museum of Non-Objective Painting), after 1952 and the exposure of his work in a wider range of galleries known for their promotion of School of Paris painting (although it must be

remembered that his painting had been displayed by both J.B. Neumann and Karl Nierendorf since the nineteen thirties). Moreover, the price rises of Mondrian were even more dramatic, for a work which would have fetched \$400 in the middle nineteen thirties might sell for up to \$10,000 twenty years later. Even at auction this painter's prices had increased dramatically in 10 years, as is clear if the \$2,600 price paid at the sale at the Oliver P. James auction for the small "Abstraction, 1927" (14" x 14") is compared to the previous auction record for the artist of \$1,400 (set at the Chrysler sale in 1945 by a much larger 1936 painting of the same title).^[90] This painter's prices continued to escalate, and by the end of the decade a work such as "Composition 1921" (23 3/4" x 19 5/8") fetched \$20,000.^[91] Soby estimated in 1955 that paintings by Miró which might have been priced at \$600 on their first exhibition in New York in 1933 would by then cost between \$7,500 and \$10,000.^[92] By 1959 (at a time when the Modern was staging a major Miró retrospective, and his work had been presented almost annually by the Pierre Matisse Gallery for 28 years) good examples of the more abstract or 'avant-garde' work of Miró had "long reached" \$35,000 to \$40,000. ^[93] Concurrently, the prices of Klee (whose work was strictly rationed on the international market by the artist's executors) had crept up steadily, and whereas approximately \$1,000 - \$2,000 apiece had been the price level at which significant oils had been available (although not necessarily sold) in the early nineteen forties, by the middle nineteen fifties (although it was still possible to obtain small watercolours or gouaches for between \$350 and \$1,200) the most important oils could fetch between \$15,000 and \$45,000, with others ranging down to the low or middle four figures. ^[94]

Although few post-war European artists were shown in New York until the early to middle nineteen fifties (the first institutional coverage was when Guggenheim Museum staged "Younger European Painters" in 1953 and the Modern held "The New Decade: 22 European Painters and Sculptors", and more commercial galleries began to display such work) and the work of the better-known post-war painters Jean Dubuffet and Nicholas de Staël rose substantially over the decade from \$1,000 - \$2,000 levels at which their work had retailed in the later nineteen forties to reach levels of between \$6,000, for the smallest works, and \$20,000 - \$27,000, for the most important, by the 1959 - 1960 season. The prices of these two painters were somewhat higher than most because of their high critical reputations (in the latter's case his death in 1955 also helped to bolster his prices). In the case of other post-war School of Paris painters such as Bernard Buffet and Hans Hartung, their price levels rose from their \$1,000 - \$3,000 levels of the early nineteen fifties to perhaps only half of the levels of the foregoing two artists. [95]

Moreover, if the frequency with which works appear at auction is any guide, by the later nineteen fifties there was, for the first time in New York, a significant market for the works of previously neglected tendencies such as the German Expressionists and the Italian Futurists, for by 1959 works by such artists in auction commanded prices of between three and ten times greater than those of a decade earlier and were appearing with much greater frequency (itself a good indicator of a general level of demand). This trend would appear to owe a good deal to the greater exposure which this art had received in the preceding decade. In the case of German expressionism there had been two major surveys of

twentieth century German art at the Modern (1953, 1957), a wider selection of shows at commercial galleries, and the appearance of more critical material in English (particularly that printed in New York). The higher profile for this art on the Continent, as Germany recovered its prosperity in the nineteen fifties, was most significant in driving up prices in America, for prices on the Continent were often some three times higher than those in New York galleries. This all coalesced together with the high profile of expressionist tendencies in American contemporary art to raise the status, and market profile, of expressionism in general and German Expressionism in particular. For instance, the prices of Kirchner appreciated from their ceiling of some \$3,000 in 1949 (in a gallery context) to a range of \$10,000 - \$12,000 in 1958. Beckmann, whose triptyches had sold for about \$6,000 in 1948 - 1949, fetched \$20,000 a decade later; while his portraits demonstrated an even more remarkable appreciation of some 200 per cent from their high three-figure levels of the late nineteen forties.[96]

To return to the question of the trends underlying the ever-improving buoyancy of the market, the importance of major sales is indicated in a comment made by E. Coe Kerr Jr, a New York dealer, in a 1955 article

"As the supply of these [Impressionist and Post-Impressionist] pictures has dwindled and the demand increased, the prices have steadily risen over a period of many years, but no one suspected the fantastic level to which they have now jumped. The start of this jump I believe can be accurately placed at May 15th 1952, when the first Cognac sale was held in Paris. If the art market operated like the stock market, we would have opened on May 16th in New York by posting our prices at three times what they had been before." [97]

The shortages mentioned by Kerr were exacerbated by the constant drift of such pieces into public collections, from whence they were

unlikely to reappear on the market. This drift was, in the United States at least, greatly encouraged by provisions which allowed for deductions of 15 to 20 per cent to be made against tax liabilities.^[98] From the middle nineteen fifties onward the art market was so buoyant that it began to be noted by financial commentators that the prices of French post-impressionist paintings were out-performing stocks or minerals in investment terms, ^[99] especially during the recession of 1957 - 1958 when the value of shares declined.^[100] It seems significant that, whereas prices in New York had traditionally been lower than those in Europe, after the middle nineteen fifties the majority of auctions notable in setting price ceilings were held in New York, and that Americans increasingly became more noticeable as active members of the small international coterie of very wealthy collectors who were willing and able to pay six figure sums for works of art.^[101] Indeed, by the middle to later nineteen fifties there appears to have been a dramatic change in American attitudes towards the status of art works as an investment. Whereas, historically, the American collector had regarded art as a luxury purchase rather than as a capital investment (or even speculation), it would appear that in the middle to late nineteen fifties this situation was changing, for Time ascribed the boom of the later nineteen fifties to

"a new force ... loose in the art markets ... the buccaneer investor who does not know what he likes but knows a good investment when he sees one." ^[102]

Moreover, whereas the structural nature of the New York art market had traditionally made it difficult for anyone not already au-fait with price levels in galleries to use the auction sale as a reliable indicator of price movements (the traditional secretiveness of private dealers precluded all except those already regular collectors), the increasing comparability of prices internationally

and the succession of major sales in the nineteen fifties made it possible, for the first time, for the American collector to use auctions as an indicator, just as the Dow Jones Index might be utilised for stocks and shares. Such statistics brought home in a most concrete manner the message - that art collecting was a legitimate activity for the astute (business) person and not merely the preserve of the cultured dilettante - which the Museum of Modern Art had been trying to convey to the public for some years, via its series of exhibitions of private collections and publicity announcements concerning the values of accessions to the permanent collections.

It would seem safe to state that the American participation in the art boom of the nineteen fifties owed a good deal to the relative economic prosperity of the decade. The economic stability and low inflation of this decade, after the turbulence of the first six months of the Korean War, facilitated the first real improvement in disposable income levels since the war-time boom years.^[103] Moreover, the general behaviour of the New York art market, leaving aside the escalating prices of top-flight works which was the result of international demand and hence floated free to a large extent from local (i.e. United States) conditions, does have some remarkable parallels with the behaviour and performance of the United States economy as a whole, particularly as expressed in the indicators of Gross National Product and Dow Jones Index. For instance, in the latter nineteen forties, when the New York art market was characterised by overall sluggishness, the stock market was generally "bearish" while the national economy (G.N.P.) showed no real improvement at all. However, in the subsequent years 1949/50 to 1956 G.N.P. showed a real improvement of 4.7 per cent

while the Dow Jones Average more than doubled.[104] This latter buoyancy shows a remarkable contiguity with the renaissance of the New York art market in the early nineteen fifties, and the boom therein which followed, although this commentator cannot fully explain the relationship, apart from pointing to the fact that a large proportion of the art buying public interested in major European art was associated with the financial and business communities and would have benefitted from this prosperity.

Although what European art in particular benefitted from the buoyancy of the New York market was influenced by the critical fortunes of certain artists and the amount of institutional and commercial exhibition exposure which they received in New York, the fact that the market for European art in general became ever more lively was due to the breakdown of certain cultural factors: such as the long held cultural prejudices against art as an investment outlet, the relatively low level of knowledge and resultant slack demand for modern art in the United States. One believes that by the end of this period a combination of trends - the improved prosperity for the United States upper and middle classes, the change of long-prevalent attitudes toward art collecting which included the newly heightened prestige of art ownership effected initially by tastemakers and confirmed by the hard statistics of the auction house record, escalating prices, increasing international rivalry for the ever-diminishing stocks of masterpieces, the more wide-spread collector emphasis upon hitherto unfashionable areas, and the growth in the number of outlets displaying and selling modern European art - had all helped create a situation wherein New York, for the first time, assumed a position of major importance as a centre in the market for modern European art, and became more than

just the port from where American collectors set sail for European
buying trips.

NOTES

- 1 One has unfortunately had problems in gaining access to the sales records of commercial galleries to confirm true price levels (those of a majority of the major galleries specialising in European art at the time were closed to study).
- 2 Eric Hodgins and Parker Lesley: "The Great International Art Market: II" - Fortune: January 1956; pp 122 - 136.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Art News: XLI (1942 - 1943): 9; p 37.
- 5 Although the great majority of works sold for between \$1,000 and \$200. Appendix : Sale A. American Art Annual: Vol XXXV (1938 - 41); pp 34, 640 - 642. Ibid; pp 682 - 685.
- 6 "Boom in Old Masters" - Time: 17/8/1942; p 34.
- 7 Time: ibid. "Gimbels Art Sales Yielded \$4,225,000" - New York Times: 24/7/1943; p 14.
- 8 "Exiles Find Security" - Art Digest: 15/1/1941; p 3. D & E Rigby: "Embattled Collectors" - Harper's Magazine: January 1941; pp 200 - 208. "Boom in Old Masters" - Time 17/8/1942; p 34. "Gimbel Art Sales Yielded \$4,225,000" - New York Times: 24/7/1943; p 14.
- 9 "Fifty Seventh Street: Bottleneck for Art" - Fortune: September 1946; p 145.
- 10 "Report on Auction Season" - Art News: XLIII (1944 - 1945): 10; p 21.
- 11 Art News: XLV (1946 - 1947): 5; p 44.
- 12 Art Prices Current: 1944: p A45; Items 2068 - 2111.
- 13 "New York Auction Season Hits All-Time Record High" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 9; p 30.
- 14 Art News: XLII (1943 - 1944): 12; p 7. Art News: XLIII (1944 - 1945): 10; p 21.
- 15 See Appendix A: Table I.
Lester V. Chandler: Inflation in the United States 1940 - 1948; pp 33, 35. Harold G. Vatter: The United States Economy in the 1950s; pp 93, 117.
- 16 New York Times: 29/4/1942; p 15. "The Boom" - Life: 16/9/1944; pp 27 - 31.
- 17 This sale also contained the property of various museum trustees. See Appendix C: Sale C.
- 18 Art Prices Current: 1944; p A67 - A68. Appendix C: Sale F.
- 19 Art News: XLII (1943 - 1944): 12; p 7. Art Prices Current: 1944; pp A12 - A14. See Appendix C: Sale C.
- 20 Art Prices Current: 1944; pp A33 - A34. See Appendix C: Sale D.
- 21 Appendix C : Sale G. Art Prices Current: 1945; pp A51 - A53.
- 22 Germain Seligmann Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 23 "Art of this Century: Sales of Art Works", typescript, 1945. Copy in Bernard J. Reis Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 24 Art News: XLVIII (1949 - 1950): 5; p 10. Art News: XLIX (1950 - 1951): 5; p 9. Art Digest: 1/7/1951; p 20. Art Digest: August 1952; p 19. Art Digest: August 1953; p 19. Arts Digest: 1/8/1954; p 22. Arts Digest: 1/8/1955; p 32.
- 25 Art News Annual: 1948; p 161.
"It is difficult. So is the market at present. There is much complaining on Fifty Seventh Street and the feeling is that things will not improve until after elections in November. That is a long way off - too long" - Rose Fried, letter to Katherine Dreier, 29/12/1947, Rose Fried Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 2202.

- 26 For instance, the many works available by a painter such as Maurice Utrillo showed no real improvement in price at auction in these years despite considerable improvements in the war years, indeed the price levels for some equivalent works actually dropped.
See Appendix C: Sales I to M.
- 27 Aline Louchheim: "Who Buys What in the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIII (1944 - 1945): 9; pp 12 - 14. Aline Louchheim: "Art Sales and Prices" - New York Times: 11/7/1948; II; p 8.
See Appendix A: Table III.
Also Chandler: op cit; p 10. Arthur J. Brown: The Great Inflation, 1939 - 1951; pp 33, 304 - 305.
- 28 Art News Annual: 1948; p 161. "Tip on the Market" - Art News: XLVIII (1949 - 1950): 2; p 17.
- 29 Art News: ibid.
- 30 "Auction Report" - Art News: XLVI (1947 - 48): 5; pp 21, 40.
- 31 Art News: XLVIII: 5; p 10. Art Prices Current: 1948 - 49; p A133.
- 32 Aline Louchheim: "Where Art and Economics Meet" - New York Times: 13/3/1949: II; p 8.
- 33 "Collector's Preferences" - Art Digest: 15/1/1951; p 5.
- 34 "Collector's Preferences" - Art Digest: 15/1/1951; p 5. "Auction Record" - Art Digest: 1/7/51; p 20. Art Digest: 1/8/1951; p 20.
- 35 "Auction Record" - Art News: XLIX (1950 - 51): 5; pp 9, 56.
- 36 Alfred H. Barr, letter to Henry Hope, 30/6/1949. Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 2173.
- 37 Sidney Janis: Paul Cummings, interview, 25/7/1972. Archives of American Art.
- 38 American Artist: 11 (1947): 3; p 6. Otto Spaeth Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. Sidney Janis: Paul Cummings, interview, 21/3/1972 - 26/9/1972. Archives of American Art.
- 39 Germain Seligmann Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 40 Sidney Janis: Paul Cummings, interview, 21/3/1972 - 26/9/1972. Rose Fried: letter to Lydia Winston, 8/8/1949 - Winston Collection Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D216.
- 41 Alfred H. Barr: letter to William A. M. Burden, 15/9/1949 - Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number 2177 and 2178.
However, by the 1954 - 1955 Sidney Janis was asking \$18,000 for a significant example of this style, Boccioni's "Dynamism of a Football Player" - which was then the highest price asked for a work by that painter - Winston Collection Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D218.
- 42 See Appendix C: Sale K.
- 43 Sidney Janis: Paul Cummings, interview, 23/5/1972. Archives of American Art.
- 44 James Thrall Soby, memorandum to Alfred H. Barr, November 27, 1949. Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives, Museum of Modern Art.
- 45 Brown: op cit; pp 50 - 55, 304 - 305.
- 46 Ibid; pp 308 - 309.
This value was arrived at after several official devaluations, but sometimes the official rate was as much as 50 per cent better than the effective black market exchange rate - Art News: XLV (1946 - 1947): 5; p 13.
- 47 "Annual Report" - Art News: LI (1952 - 1953): 5; p 11. Art Digest: August 1952; p 19.
- 48 "Season's Summary" - Art Digest: August 1953; p 19. "Auctions

- Annual Report" - Art Digest: 1/8/1954; pp 22, 29. "Parke-Bernett's Season Summed Up" - Art Digest: 1/8/55; p 32.
- 49 Clarence Dean: "Art Galleries Enjoy Boom" - New York Times: 25/2/1957; p 16.
- 50 "Art Market Untouched by Recession" - Arts: September 1958; p 11. Rush: Art As an Investment; p 5.
- 51 Towner: The Elegant Auctioneers; pp 583 - 588.
- 52 Time: 1/12/1958; p 66.
- 53 Rush: op cit.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 "Art Market Untouched By Recession" - Art Digest: September 1958; p 11. "The Greatest Auction" - Time: 18/11/1957; pp 96, 97. Sandra Knox: "Modern Art Brings Record \$1,08,550" - New York Times: 8/11/1957; p 1.
- 56 "Kirkeby Collection At Auction" - Arts: November 1958; pp 27 - 31. Aline B. Saarinen: "Auction of Art Brings \$1,548,500" - New York Times: 20/11/1958; pp 1, 32. Aline B. Saarinen: "A Seller's Market" - New York Times: 23/11/1958: II; p 13. Art Prices Current: 1958; pp A25 - A28. Towner: ibid; p 589.
- 57 Art Prices Current: 1954: p A120; item 3039.
- 58 The highest price this painter fetched at auction in the early to middle nineteen fifties was \$19,000, paid at the Arthur Bradley Campbell sale (2/10/1954) for "The Watering Can" (10 1/2" x 13 3/4"). See Appendix C: Sale P.
- 59 See Appendix C: Sale Q. Also refer to Art Prices Current volumes covering 1940 - 1955.
- 60 In the nineteen forties the record price paid for a Bonnard was the \$4,100 paid at the Crowninshield sale, October 1943, for "The Breakfast Room" (1920 - 25, 26" x 42 1/2"); and for Vuillard (whose work rarely appeared in such public sales) it was \$4,900 for "Intimacy" (1900, 25" x 24 1/2") at the Barbee sale in April 1944. Re Appendix C: Sales C & E.
- 61 Art Prices Current: 1954: p A34; Item 780.
- 62 At the von Sternberg sale of November 1949, a portrait of "Mme Zborowski" (1918, 28 1/2" x 16 1/4") had fetched \$4,000, although the record for the nineteen forties was the \$4,900 paid for "Mme Hebuterne" (1919) at the Crowninshield sale. See Appendix C: Sales C & A.
- 63 See Appendix C: Sale P.
- 64 See Appendix C: Sales I, J, K & V.
- 65 See Appendix C: Sale C & Sale V.
- 66 There was a major show at the Modern in 1951.
- 67 Hodgins & Lesley: op cit; p 124.
- 68 Margaret Thompson Bidale was an American collector who had spent some considerable time in Paris. "Expensive Apples" - Time: 24/6/1957; p 68.
- 69 Arts: November 1958; p 9. Kenneth Love: "7 Paintings Sold for \$2,186,800" - New York Times: 16/10/1958; pp 1, 41.
- 70 Sandra Knox: "Renoir Painting of 2 Young Girls is Auctioned Here for \$255,000" - New York Times: 14/5/1959; p 21. Arts: June 1959; p 9.
- 71 The first figures cited are the top prices for individual works at the Jakob Goldschmidt sale, held in London in October 1958 - Edith Halpert: letter to Jacob Schulman, 21/10/1958, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 72 Aline B. Saarinen: "Auction of Art Brings \$1,548,500" - New York Times: 20/11/1958; pp 1, 32. Aline B. Saarinen: "A Seller's Market" - New York Times: 23/11/1958: II; p 13. Alfred Frankfurter: "Midas on Parnassus" - Art News Annual: November 1958; p 54.

- 73 Frankfurter: op cit; p 35.
- 74 Aline B. Saarinen: "A Painting that Tells a Story" - New York Times: 2/11/1958: V1; p 16.
- 75 Alfred H. Barr, letter to William A. M. Burden, 3/11/1954, Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll number 2178.
- 76 Frankfurter: op cit; p 39.
- 77 James Thrall Soby: "Bullish Days in the Art Market" - Saturday Review of Literature: 8/1/1955; pp 36, 37.
- 78 Alfred H. Barr, letter to William A. M. Burden, 16/12/1953 & 5/5/1954, Alfred H. Barr Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm rolls Number 2178.
- 79 Valentin Gallery Papers, Archives, Museum of Modern Art.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Winston Collection Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm rolls number D214 - D221.
- 82 It was bought by Nelson Rockefeller at this price - Aline B. Saarinen: The Proud Possessors; p 38/.
- 83 Rose Fried, letter to Arnold Maremont, 27/5/1951, Rose Fried Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 2204. Frankfurter: op cit; p 54.
- 84 For instance, Picasso's "Vive la France" (1914) had been sold to Leigh Block in the late nineteen forties for \$14,000 - Sidney Janis: Paul Cummings, interview, 21/3/1972 - 26/9/1972.
- 85 Rose Fried, letter to Arnold Maremont, 27/5/1951, Rose Fried Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 2204.
- 86 Edith Halpert, letter to Sylvan Lang, 19/6/1956, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 87 Rose Fried Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll number 2205. Fritz Neugass: "New Records for Abstract Art" - Arts: February 1965; p 22.
- 88 Rose Fried, letter to Leonid Massine, February 1958. Rose Fried Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 2205.
- 89 Frankfurter: op cit; p 63.
This sum had apparently been paid by a private collector for a gift to the Museum of Modern Art - if so, it must refer to "Picture with an Archer" (1909), the only major Kandinsky to be given to the Modern at this time.
- 90 Appendix C: Sale C & Sale Q.
- 91 Neugass: op cit.
- 92 James Thrall Soby: "Bullish Days in the Art Market" - Saturday Review of Literature: 8/1/1955; pp 36, 37.
- 93 "Market Letter" - Art in America: March 1960; n.p.
- 94 Valentin Gallery Papers, Archives, Museum of Modern Art. Frankfurter: op cit; p 63.
- 95 Frankfurter: op cit; p 54. "Fine Arts in the Market Place" - Life: 19/9/1960; p 12 - 13.
- 96 Frankfurter: op cit; p 63.
- 97 E. Coe Kerr Jr: "The Collector Today" - Art in America: December 1955; p 48.
Kerr was the director of Knoedler & Co., the New York dealers.
- 98 Joseph P. Crockett: The Federal Tax System of the United States; p 256.
- 99 "Financial and Business Sidelights" - New York Times: 5/5/1955; p 33.
- 100 "On Art, Stocks and Inflation" - New York Times: 1/1/1958; p 38.
- 101 One reason why an United States collector (as was Goldschmidt) might choose to disperse his/her collection in the salerooms of

London or Paris was that the sales commission demanded by the auction houses there was considerably lower than the norm in New York, a flat rate of 10 per cent as against a variable one of between 12.5 to 22.5 per cent in New York - Kenneth Love: "London Sale of 29 works Yields \$613,256 for Chrysler" - New York Times: 2/7/1959; p 8.

102 "Under the Boom" - Time: 1/12/1958; p 66.

103 Bert G. Hickman: Growth and Stability in the Post-war Economy; pp 35, 81, 123. Chandler: op cit; p 368.

104 "Stock Market Barometer" - Time: 14/6/1948; p 39. "Business in 1955" - Time: 21/11/1955; p 103. "Business in 1958" - Time: 29/12/1958; p 44.

CHAPTER 17: THE MARKET FOR AMERICAN ART IN THE NINETEEN FORTIES AND NINETEEN FIFTIES

As explained in the previous chapter, the market for modern American art as a whole must be considered as an entity separate from, yet in relation to, that for European art because of the structure and functioning of the support system. However, there are a number of factors pertaining to the market for American art alone which merit further discussion. One is the fact that "the market in the native field is a local affair", [1] whereas that for European art can be safely called supra-national. This meant that demand for contemporary American artistic production was much more vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the United States economy over this period (which included two wars, three depressions and three booms), whereas the market for European modern art in New York was affected as much by the forces influencing the European market.

Another important factor which must be considered is the context within which contemporary American art was situated, both critically and commercially. With respect to the commercial gallery network, a number of factors influenced the relative market status of contemporary American art. First, the functional division between European artists and their American counterparts created by differing methods of dealer support meant that, for the most part, the critically more prestigious Europeans were to be found in different establishments to the Americans, and the latter did not often have the opportunity to benefit from the validating effects of reflected prestige. Moreover, the monopolistic situation engendered by the sale-on-consignment system reduced the possibility that multiple outlets for an artist's work might heighten his/her commercial profile by making his/her work more noticeable to

collectors, or that an element of competition might have helped to raise prices. Furthermore, the consignment norm placed a premium upon the dealer encouraging a steady stream of sales, rather than gambling upon high long-term returns, and this led dealers in American art to emphasise a pricing policy which they thought would maximise potential sales. The commission norm also meant the virtual exclusion of American art from the upper reaches of the auction market for, as dealers derived no benefit from supporting the price levels of their artists' past work, they did not attempt to bolster sale prices in this area. In consequence, auction house sale prices of American art were often little more than 10 to 25 per cent of the prices of equivalent works acquired through a gallery.

The last of these factors was, one believes, connected with another factor influencing the market position of contemporary American art: that is, the attempts of some dealers specialising in American art to promote the possibility of art collecting among lower income groups as well as higher. This strategy had its roots in the era of Federal art patronage and was based upon the supposition that the future for the art market, at a time when the wealthiest were being taxed much more heavily than ever before, lay in attracting a new class of buyers with more modest incomes. Any attempt to do this entailed a deliberate rejection of the appeals to snobbery or connoisseurship traditionally used by art dealers. Instead the emphasis was placed upon ease of purchase, with promotion of the availability of credit terms when making an art purchase, and the holding of prices to levels which would enable as wide a cross-section of potential collectors as possible (even to the extent of occasionally holding down price levels at a

time when rises might be justified by the level of demand).

At the start of the nineteen forties the dominant critical category in American art was still the work, such as regionalist and "American Scene", associated with nationalist currents and/or Federal art patronage in the preceding decade. Major expositions such as the World's Fairs held in New York and San Francisco in 1939 and 1940 provided opportunities for viewing a wide range of such work and reinforcing its public status; while later exhibitions such as the "Artists for Victory" juried exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum in 1942 kept American realist art firmly to the forefront. However, although those associated with the "American Scene" or regionalist movements continued to get wide coverage in both the general and specialist press in the early nineteen forties, by the time of the latter exhibition the changing international climate of late nineteen thirties and early nineteen forties, and the new involvement of the United States in global politics and war, had encouraged a move away from the nationalist sentiments of the previous decade and a re-evaluation of the art of the New Deal period. These shifts led to an increasing emphasis upon individual expression, even expressionism, as the way forward for American art; and artists thought to be achieving this began to receive an increasing amount of critical and institutional coverage. Indeed, "expressionism" - a somewhat loose critical category which covered those, like John Marin, who had been influenced by European modernism in the nineteen tens but had returned to a more Americanised version in the following decades, work which appeared to express comment upon the contemporary world in an individual manner, the 'poetic' work of painters such as Darrel Austin, and the abstracted-from-nature work of painters such as Karl Knaths -

assumed the status of dominant critical category in contemporary American art during the World War II years.^[2]

Although abstraction did gain more attention, even favour, within an European context as emigré artists arrived in New York in the early nineteen forties, on the whole such artists tended to suffer from the notion that an expressive realism was the American form of expression, while abstraction was more suited to Europe (despite the fact that some American artists had been working within cubist or abstract parameters for some years). Until this prejudice began to break down in the mid-forties, there was little media coverage or exhibition exposure, either institutional or private (indeed, the Museum of Modern Art deliberately excluded American cubist-inspired abstract art from its coverage of new American art), and even less favourable comment, for American abstract artists. Indeed, it was only in 1945 - 1946 that such artists (or group shows such as the annuals held by the American Abstract Artists group) appear to have received more critical attention.

As the market for American art in the nineteen thirties and nineteen forties was fundamentally a local affair, it was relatively unaffected by the first wave of art market boom in 1940 - 1942 that was primarily generated by European emigrés.^[3] However, the 1943 - 1944 season signalled an improvement in demand for American art,^[4] which before this had been sluggish although somewhat improved from their nadir in the Depression. Some galleries, according to Art Digest, reported increases in turnover of some 50 per cent), while in Art News critic Aline Louchheim estimated that prices had risen by between 30 and 50 per cent across the board.^[5] This situation had been helped by an increase in the proportion of

exhibitions devoted to contemporary American art, as these replaced those of the European art which had become difficult to obtain owing to the disruption in supplies caused by the war.^[6] By the time that Louchheim reported again, in mid-1945, it was apparent that the boom in art sales had intensified, with an average increase of 37 per cent in gallery sales. By the following season, the gross realised at auction sales held at Parke-Bernett Galleries had risen to \$6.6 million, some \$4 million more than the comparable figure in 1940.^[7] Gallery sales for the 1945 - 1946 season were estimated to be some 300 per cent higher than those of 1940.^[8]

One key to the buoyancy of the market for American art from the 1943 - 1944 season onwards lies in the nature of the persons constituting the market for this painting. At this time it was noted that there was a decline in the relative importance of the foreign buyers so prominent in the first years of the decade, while at the same time an increasing number of "new" American collectors were entering the market. These new collectors were, according to Louchheim, drawn primarily from the upper-middle class: some 60 per cent were businessmen (particularly those whose concerns were "doing a little better") or the wives of the same, nearly 30 per cent were professionals, and some 7 per cent were in the armed forces.^[9] To explain the expansion of the market for contemporary American art one can refer to a number of factors associated with the character of the general war-time boom. First one must note the improvements in the economic position of many sectors of the population as, in current and real terms, weekly earnings rose on average by 70 per cent, total disposable personal income grew from \$72.6 billion (1939) to \$171.9 (1945),^[10] total personal consumption expenditure doubled and personal savings increased from

3.7 per cent of disposable income in 1939 to 24.1 per cent in 1944.[11] The art market benefitted because this abnormally high level of consumer liquidity occurred at a time when the need for controls over strategically important commodities such as steel created a situation in which there was an unusual emphasis within consumer expenditure upon the purchase of unrationed luxury goods.[12] It was the middle income strata (\$5,000 - \$9,999) which benefitted most from the war-time prosperity, and this is significant because it is these two groups which equate with the characteristics of the "new" collector as outlined by Louchheim. Moreover, Louchheim noted in 1944 that the "new collector", who in this season made up to one third of purchases (for the most part within the price brackets of \$500 or less), [13] concentrated almost exclusively upon American art because it was both more plentiful and modestly priced.

At the realist-*'American Scene'* end of the spectrum the prices of well-established painters were quite healthy within the gallery context, indeed sales in this area increased by some 400 per cent between 1942 and 1944; [14] and although the few works of this type which appeared at auction during the war years only occasionally broke through the four-figure barrier, in 1941 Thomas Hart Benton's *"Persephone"* (1939) was sold for \$10,000 (by a gallery).[15] The works of Edward Hopper were fetching up to \$3,500 by the mid-decade - with *House at Dusk* (1935, 36" x 50") at this figure in 1945 - while Charles Burchfield's more recent works ranged in price from \$600 - \$3,000 (although his early watercolours went for \$750 - \$1,000).[16] Similar prices were fetched by the *'precisionist'* work of Charles Sheeler, whose scenes of America were available for between \$600 - \$3,000.[17] Among the

younger generation hailed by conservative critics as the 'second generation' of American Scene artists, Fletcher Martin (who received a good number of commissions from industry) generally fetched between \$250 and \$1,500 (according to scale and subject) during the war years.^[18] Of the so-called 'studio painters' large works by John Carroll fetched \$1,800 - \$3,500, while figure pieces and portraits by Eugene Speicher fetched between \$2,500 to \$6,000 in 1945.^[19]

The American art which benefitted most from the increased market activity during World War II would appear to be that of an "expressionist" flavour. Louchheim noted that by the 1944 - 1945 season the most popular artists with American collectors were painters such as Darrel Austin, Philip Evergood, Leon Kroll, Jack Levine, and Karl Zerbe.^[20] Indeed, it was a painting by Austin which set the war-time auction record for a twentieth century American painter, when his "The Tigress" (1941, 30" x 36") fetched \$3,000 in early 1944.^[21] Within the gallery context, by mid-decade Max Weber's work was reported to be sought by collectors "avidly at prices that sometimes reach nearly 5 figures".^[22] By the mid-decade a representative watercolour by John Marin could be acquired for between \$1,500 - \$3,000, although oils were priced somewhat higher;^[23] while the work of Yasuo Kuniyoshi sold well during the war years (by November 1945 his dealer was claiming to sell his works as quickly as they were produced) at prices ranging from \$1,500 - \$3,000 for large canvases such as "Girl Thinking" (1935, 40" x 50") to \$500 - \$700 for small scale oils.^[24]

The prices asked for the work of younger 'expressionist' artists were rather more modest on the whole, a circumstance attributable in large measure to the relative brevity of their

exhibition careers, and despite that fact that some were attracting considerable critical and institutional attention. Important works by Jack Levine were priced at up to \$500 in the early nineteen forties, with the large "The Passing Scene" (1941, 48" x 29 3/4") selling for \$500 in early 1942, while the asking price on "The String Quartet" (1937, 48" x 67") at the time when it was awarded a \$1,000 purchase prize at the 1942 "Artists for Victory" show was only \$350. By 1944, however, the price level of a major work such as "The Syndicate" (1939, 36" x 45") stood at \$1,000.^[25] The prices asked for the work of Karl Zerbe (another "Boston Expressionist") were usually between \$150 - \$750, although his largest works could be priced at up to \$900.^[26] At the more abstract end of the 'expressionist' spectrum, Lee Gatch by 1945 was priced in the range \$200 - \$750, with works by Karl Knaths priced from \$600 - \$1,000 the same season.

The initial critical ambivalence, if not hostility, toward American abstraction, and the only gradual willingness to accept it, was reflected in price levels for abstract or near-abstract art across the board. At the near-abstract end of the range (basically artists of an older generation), in the 1942 - 1943 season \$700 was sufficient to acquire "Ursine Park" (1942, 20" x 40") but by 1945 the price range for Stuart Davis' largest works had risen to \$1,000 - \$2,000, with the Miller Collection paying the latter figure for "For Internal Use Only" (1945, 45" x 28") soon after its completion.^[27] Davis was established enough to be accorded a (well-received) retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in 1945, but the prices of the new generation of abstract artists, i.e. those who received their first exhibition exposure in the early nineteen forties, would appear to have been in a general range of \$100 -

\$750 for oils by mid-decade, regardless of whether such artists were presented within an all-American stable or alongside European artists. For instance, the price range of Mark Tobey reached \$300 - \$600 by the time of his 1945 solo show (after inclusion in the Museum of Modern Art's "Americans 1942", a \$1000 purchase prize at the 1945 "Portrait of America" exhibition, and a solo exhibition at a west coast museum); [28] while in 1945 that of Robert Motherwell was \$75 - \$600.[29]

Younger artists, however, tended to suffer more from discrepancies between their ostensible price ranges and actual sale prices. For instance, where the price range of Irene Rice Pereira at her solo show in 1944 was \$35 - \$950, the highest price obtained was \$650. Paintings by William Baziotes following his solo show in late 1943 fetched between \$100 and \$250, although \$275 was paid in 1945 for "The Balcony" (1944, 36" x 42"). Finally, although during the same period the price range for Jackson Pollock's work rose from \$35 - \$750 in 1943 to \$100 - \$900 in 1945, the highest prices realised were the \$600 paid by the Modern in 1944 for "She Wolf" (1943, 41 7/8" x 67") and the \$740 from a private collector in 1945 for "Male and Female" (1942, 71" x 48 7/8").[30]

Between the 1946 - 1947 and 1950 - 1951 art seasons, a period which coincided with the interlude between World War II and the Korean War, the further sub-division on the national economic front into the immediate post-war boom of 1945/46 - 1947/8 and the recession and subsequent recovery of 1948 - 1950 was not directly reflected in the performance of the art market. For instance, while the war-time boom years of 1943 - 1946 had witnessed ever-broken art sales records, the years subsequent witnessed a

stagnation, even diminution, in the total value of art sales (particularly as measured in auction house grosses) in both real and current terms.^[31] On Fifty-Seventh Street, dealers in American art suffered from poor sales across the board. The dealer Betty Parsons complained in a letter to the collector and erstwhile dealer Peggy Guggenheim in early 1948 - "Business has been very slow,..."^[32] and she was having ".... quite a struggle financially"^[33] - a sentiment echoed by Frank K. M. Rehn, a dealer in rather more traditional American contemporary painters, who complained in the 1948 - 1949 season that "I have run into hard times in the past few years, along with many others".^[34] Indeed, where the average number of contemporary American paintings sold per gallery in the 1944 - 1945 season (according to the Art News survey conducted by Aline Louchheim) had been 125, in 1947 - 1948 the equivalent total was estimated by the same author to have fallen to 107.^[35]

The sluggishness of this post-war art market, and the reasons why it did not benefit from the general post-war upsurge as it had from that generated by the war, owed much to the former boom's demand-led nature and the consequences this had upon the disposal of personal income. For instance, at war's end the call for housing was especially pronounced; ^[36] and there was also a high level of desire for new automobiles, consumer durables and household goods of all kinds. A boom stimulated by these needs and desires was enabled by the exceptionally high levels of personal liquidity built up during the war-time boom, and once industry was fully reconverted to peacetime manufacture consumer spending was concentrated upon fulfilling pent-up domestic needs. In consequence, the freshly-prosperous middle-class "new" collector who had featured as such an important force in the war-time market for American art became much

less active on the art market, as this group's disposable incomes and assets were not generally sufficient to enable both the satisfaction of their backlog of domestic requirements and any significant purchase of luxuries. Indeed, by 1948 the proportion of this category within the art market had shrunk from the 30 per cent noted between 1943 and 1945 to only 10 per cent.^[37] However, it would appear that there was some improvement in the situation for American art by the end of the decade, which may owe something to the fact that as pent-up consumer demand declined as the engine of the boom, there was a weakening of inflationary pressures and, after fiscally expansionary measures ^[38] were taken to counteract the recession of 1948 - 1949, there was some recovery in the value of incomes and the level of personal savings.^[39]

Although trends in the market in the post-war years owed much to the wider economic situation, the fortunes of American contemporary art were also affected by the critical conflicts of the latter nineteen forties, and by the context in which American art was presented by New York galleries and institutions. The first factor was that American contemporary art was once again in competition with its European rivals - 1946 was the first season when an appreciable amount of fresh European work again appeared upon the New York art market - and once the latter was again available a number of dealers who had been willing to exhibit American work during the war refocused their attentions upon European art. This trend counterbalanced the fact that there was an increasing number of galleries opening up which concentrated upon contemporary American art, for most of these concentrated upon as-yet unestablished artists and did not have the status of the 'promoter' galleries found concentrated in the European field.

Moreover, contemporary American art was rarely to be found under the same roofs as European, and this tended to reinforce the gap between European and American art. Furthermore, even by the end of the nineteen forties, there was still some discrepancy between the presentations given European and American art by New York institutions. For instance, although the Museum of Modern Art had made good its long-standing omission by displaying its American holdings in 1948, it was not thought to function as a tastemaker in this area as it did in the European context. In addition, it was only in 1948 that the Whitney Museum made its first tentative steps into a tastemaking function, when it began to hold retrospectives of living American artists (the first was of Kuniyoshi).

The controversies and critical battles of the half-decade, coupled with the economic vicissitudes of these years, left their mark upon the market for contemporary American art across the board, even where the art concerned was uncontroversial. For instance, the prices of some artists working within the parameters of a more realist manner changed little in real terms during the post-war boom years. During the post-war half-decade the work of Hopper stagnated at the mid-decade levels, [40] for in the 1948 - 1949 season the price of his more important paintings was still generally \$3,000/\$3,500 for paintings such as "House at Dusk" (1935), although the occasional work such as "The Barber Shop" (1931, 60" x 78") was priced at \$5,000. [41] By 1948 Burchfield's more important watercolours, such as "The Sphinx and the Milky Way" (1946, 52 5/8" x 44 3/4) fetched up to \$3,500. Similar price levels were generally fetched by "studio painters" Alexander Brook, Carroll and Speicher, with oils by these artists generally fetching \$2,500 - \$3,500, although in the latter's case some portraits were

priced at \$5,000 - \$7,500.[42]

A factor which may have influenced the market for certain sectors in modern American art was the media controversy surrounding 'modern' art, which came to a head with the change in name of the Boston Institute of Modern Art to that of Institute of Contemporary Art in 1948, and centred around the question of the so-called unintelligibility of modern art.[43] As dealer Betty Parsons expressed it in a letter to dealer-collector Peggy Guggenheim in early 1948

"As you may have heard the New York critics have banded together in a concerted attack on modern painting" [44]

- an attack which resulted in the cancellation of two State Department sponsored travelling exhibitions of contemporary American painting, and the subsequent disposal of the art works concerned at heavy discounts.[45] Despite such counterforces, however, the drift of the United States from a state of political (and cultural) isolationism into one of globalism meant an ever-increasing trend away from the earlier approval of an overtly American art toward one which was more international in character. As a result, by the end of the decade "expressionism" was considered to be the dominant style in American art, [46] while abstraction was ever-improving in critical status. The seal upon these trends would appear to be the 1950 Venice Biennale (the initial occasion at which the American Pavilion was organised by the Modern, and the display had some tastemaking significance), when Marin was the major artist shown, along with 3 younger expressionists (Hyman Bloom, Gatch and Rico Lebrun) and 3 'abstract-expressionists' (Arshile Gorky, Willem de Kooning and Pollock).

However, although American abstraction was receiving ever-more exhibition exposure, both in commercial galleries (in the 1950 - 1951 season 40 per cent of exhibitions were of the same) [47] and large annual exhibitions such as those staged by the Chicago Art Institute and Whitney Museum, the critical reception of American abstraction still tended to be somewhat mixed in the specialist press and generally rather hostile in the mass-circulation media.[48] However, the greater attention given to the newer developments in abstraction meant that artists of an older generation and/or working in a near-abstract manner, such as Davis, who had been identified in the first half of the decade with the American Abstract Artists group, were increasingly discussed in terms of expressionism as their work was increasingly distanced from that of the new generation of abstractionists.

Undoubtedly because of their high critical profile, the market of the so-called "expressionist" painters was relatively buoyant in the post-war years, although initially these artists too suffered from a sluggishness in sales and consequent price levels. For instance, in 1948, characteristic works by Kuniyoshi such as "Rotting on the Shore" (1945, 46" x 36") fetched no more in this year than equivalent works in 1946. [49] The price of equivalent watercolours by Marin increased by only some 10 per cent in these years. However, by the 1950 - 1951 season Kuniyoshi oils fetched between \$2,000 and \$6,000, [50] while sales of Marin had increased to the extent that his dealer had begun to hold back some of his work.[51] By 1950 the prices of Ben Shahn and Levine had risen to a maximum of approximately \$3,000 for large characteristic works, with lesser ones fetching \$1,000 upwards.[52] Works by Zerbe, could fetch up to \$1,000 by 1950 which was, however, only a modest

general increase in price levels over 5 years.[53] At the more abstract end of the expressionist spectrum, Gatch by the same year had a ceiling of \$1,500. However, sales between 1947 - 1949 had apparently been slow and concentrated upon the lower price ranges, and it was only from 1950 onwards that demand for his work improved and sales accurately reflected the price ceiling.[54] By 1951 important large works by Stuart Davis such as, for example, the recent "Mellow Pad" (1945 - 51, 42" x 26") fetched up to \$4,500 (a doubling in price since the end of the war), while early works such as "Lucky Strike" (1921, 18" x 33") were sold at up to \$2,000.[55]

The higher critical profile given to abstract art appears to have benefitted artists of the younger generation, but their still somewhat controversial position continued to be reflected in the fact that the top prices they realised were still usually considerably more modest than their uppermost asking prices, and in the fact that sales (until circa 1949) were generally quite sparse. The most remarkable improvement was registered by Pollock, whose price range rose in the 3 years between 1946 and 1949 from \$100 - \$800 to \$1,200 - \$1,800, for large works such as "Arabesque" (1948, 37" x 117), and \$400 - \$900 for smaller canvases, although there was a \$3,000 asking price in 1949 for the very large "Number One, 1948" (68" x 104"). By late 1950 his price ceiling had risen again to \$4,500, although this was for a work measuring 20' x 9'.[56] However, although his volume of sales gradually improved from the single one made at his 1947 exhibition [57] to 10 after his two 1949 exhibitions, all sales until 1949 were concentrated in the lower reaches of his price range; and although in 1950 the highest price realised was the \$2350 paid by the Museum of Modern Art for "Number One, 1948", only a handful of works had realised

\$800 or more.[58] In 1949, works by Hans Hofmann, Baziotes and Motherwell were offered by the Kootz Gallery at between \$500 and \$900 for medium or larger oils (from 24" x 30" to 36" x 48"). [59] These price levels indicate a 50 per cent increase for the latter two painters, [60] but a stagnation for Hofmann.[61] Indeed, Kootz admits that sales of his younger Americans (in particular Hofmann) were poor in this period.[62] However, against the backdrop of the increasingly buoyant market, the asking prices for Baziotes' oils rose to \$1,800 in 1951; while the price range for Hofmann's work increased to \$350 - \$1,200. [63]

The Korean War generated boom of 1951 to 1953 [64] witnessed an improvement in the market for American art within the context of the commercial galleries which handled the majority of this trade, despite the somewhat subdued picture represented by auction house sales during these years.[65] In summer 1952 dealer Edith Halpert was able to describe the 1951 - 1952 season as having been "very gay for American art"; [66] and then to write the following season that

"Talking about excitement - you should be at Fifty-First Street at present. This place has been quite a madhouse, with most of our energies expended in talking people out of buying." [67]

From the middle nineteen fifties onwards, concurrent with the marked boom in the national economy which started shortly after the end of the Korean War in 1953 and reached its peak between 1955 and 1957, [68] the New York art market entered a period of record-breaking sales and unprecedented levels of demand in both European and American art. Indeed, by 1957 New York gallery sales as a whole had increased five-fold in a decade.[69] This liveliness continued, and appeared to be unaffected by the general economic downturn which occurred between mid 1957 and early 1958 [70] and the rather modest economic growth of the years following. Indeed, by the

autumn of 1958 Time was hailing "a boom in art sales that is unparalleled in living memory"; [71] and, although the greatest publicity went to the record breaking sales of major European moderns, Halpert was able to point to the "unprecedented sales we are making" in American art.[72] This almost frenetic level of buying activity can be situated against a picture of ever-increasing prices and demand across the market as a whole, for although in the depression year of 1953 - 1954 the total grossed at Parke-Bernett had been \$4.24 million, [73] this had increased to \$5.4 million by the 1955 - 1956 season, [74] and by the 1958 - 1959 season had nearly doubled again.[75]

A number of factors lay behind the increasing buoyancy of the market for American art in the nineteen fifties. The most general of these concern the wider economic situation. First, an improvement in standards of living was made possible by the relative prosperity and stability. The real national growth of the boom of 1955 to 1957 were accompanied by rises in production and income which, together with the modest inflation from 1951 onwards, meant that average disposable income increased by some 16 per cent in real terms (after a half-decade when high inflation had prevented any significant improvement). Indeed, in 1955 the real value of incomes recovered for the first time to those of 10 years before. [76] Moreover, for the first time since the World War II years, there was a significant increase in the proportion of the population in the highest income quintile (\$10,000 and above).[77]

Another factor is the increased use of consumer credit in these years. A number of dealers in contemporary American art had attempted from the early nineteen forties onwards to publicise the

use of instalment payment for art purchases as a means whereby they could could widen the potential buying public. One would suggest that a combination of these efforts, coupled with the growing public willingness to use credit - in these years personal debt assumed record levels, for the total amount of consumer credit doubled between 1950 and 1956 from \$4.7 billion to \$8.6 billion and then rose a further 25 per cent increase over the next half-decade [78] - encouraged a more wide-spread use of instalment buying in the New York art market and helped stimulate demand.

The buoyancy of the decade appears to have favoured American art across the board. However, a closer examination of the records of the artists already discussed in the context of the nineteen forties reveals that not all benefitted equally from the art market boom, nor did different stylistic groupings prosper simultaneously. Initially, the artists to benefit most from high demand and rising prices were those whose critical and commercial reputations had been firmly established by the second or third quarter of the nineteen forties, in particular those working within the parameters of expressionism. Another trend is also apparent among those artists thought of as the older generation, their critical and commercial reputations established by the early nineteen forties, and that is that they were subject to a de-facto price ceiling above which it was extremely rare for their works to climb, despite the pressures of demand (whether their work fell within the parameters of the 'American Scene' or 'expressionism'. This was notwithstanding the fact that by the end of the nineteen fifties the reported maximum fetched by the work of a living twentieth century American painter was the \$35,000 realised by Andrew Wyeth for works such as "Ground Hog Day (1959), [79] while important works by early twentieth

century painters like Walt Kuhn, such as "The Clown" (1929), could realise \$25,000.[80]

In the context of 'American Scene' painters, in the first half of the nineteen fifties, at a time when Grant Wood's "The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere" (1932) fetched \$15,000 (it was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1952) the price levels for Hopper's larger paintings, such as "Hotel Window" (1955, 40" x 55"), rose by some 20 per cent from the levels of the second half of the nineteen forties and medium-sized works, such as Carolina" (1955, 30" x 40"), increased by some 40 to 50 per cent in the same period to a \$4,000 - \$4,500 range.[81] In the later nineteen fifties his prices rose only modestly, with his more important works retailing at \$6,500 - \$7,000 in 1958.[82] By the latter date large watercolours by Burchfield, such as "In the Deep Woods" (1918/56, 32" x 45") were set at \$3,500.[83] In the early to middle decade the price range for oils and large watercolours by Sheeler was \$1,000 - \$3,000, with "Canyons" (1951, 22" x 22") at the latter level in 1956.[84] By 1959, however, his price ceiling had doubled to \$7,500.[85] In 1956, the largest works by Niles Spencer - whom his dealer described as having had "an enthusiastic, if quiet" reception during his life - for instance, "In Fairmount" (1951, 65 1/2" x 41 1/2"), fetched \$3,000. [86] Two years later \$4,500 was being asked for "In the Cabin" (1947, 45" x 36").[87]

Within the 'expressionist' field, in the early nineteen fifties the general price range for Kuniyoshi's works was \$2,000 - \$6,500, and although most of his current production was concentrated upon larger works at the high end of this price range there was a brisk demand for his work.[88] In the 1953 - 1954 season (just after the

artist's demise) works available in the Downtown Gallery ranged in price from \$2000 - \$7,500, with a work such as "Amazing Juggler" (1952, 40" x 65") at the latter figure, [89] although other large recent works such as "Fakirs" (1951, 32" x 50") could be obtained for between \$5000 and \$6,000. However, equivalent but less expressionist early works were priced at only half this level. Watercolours by Marin were available in the early nineteen fifties for between \$1,000 and \$3,000, [90] while oils sold well from \$2,000 upwards.[91] Subsequently, (according to "size, period and uniqueness") the price range for watercolours widened to \$300 - \$5000, [92] (earlier works were generally situated in the lower price ranges), although an occasional museum-quality watercolour such as "Movement - Sea, or Mountains As You Will" (1947, 30" x 37") was priced as high as \$6,000 by late 1955.[93] By mid-decade oils were priced from \$1,000 - \$10,000. But it was rare for a work to be priced above \$6,000 - \$7,000 with, for instance, "The Circus" (1952, 22" x 28") selling in early 1955 for \$6,000.[94] However, despite the shortages in these artists' works [95] and buoyant demand - by 1955 Marin's dealer was restricting sales of his work to \$50,000 per annum for tax reasons [96] - the price ceilings of these painters 'stuck' for the remainder of the decade. Indeed. \$7,500 was still the price in 1959 for Kuniyoshi's "Festivities Ended" (1947, 70" x 40") and \$4,000 that for "Photograph with Peaches on a Chair" (1938, 36" x 50") (two of only 3 works still unsold).[97] The main trend noticeable in Marin's case is an increasing equivalence in price between his most important watercolours and his oils - for instance, in 1958 the oil "The Written Sea" (1952, 22" x 28") was the same price as the watercolour "City Movement, Manhattan" (1936, 21" x 26"), or \$5,000.[98] It took Weber somewhat longer to attain the same price

ceilings, for in the mid-fifties his oils were priced between \$2,000 - \$5,000, with "Bach Orchestra" (1954, 26" x 32") at the latter price; but in the 1958 - 1959 season his maximum too risen to \$7,500, for "Flute Soloist" (1955, 40" x 32"). [99] By the 1958 - 1959 season good-sized oils by Abraham Rattner, such as "Figure with Wings and Masks" (1950) were priced at up to \$6,500, a substantial increase from the mid-decade price ceiling of \$3,000. Most of this increase had occurred in the 1958 - 1959 season, when his prices were raised substantially - for instance, the cost of Don Quixote (1949) was raised then from \$3,500 to \$4,500.[100]

However, among those artists grouped under the expressionist umbrella in the nineteen fifties but whose reputations were established somewhat later than the above, the barriers noted above were overcome by the end of the nineteen fifties. In the case of Levine, where important museum-quality works had fetched from \$3,000 to \$5,000 at the beginning of the decade, [101] in late 1954 "The Trial" (1953 - 54, 72" x 63") sold for \$7,500, and "Election Night" (1954, 63"x 72 1/2) fetched \$6,000 in the same season.[102] In 1958 the price for a very large museum-quality work such as "Pawnshop" (1952, 80" x 96") had not apparently risen at all from the mid-decade level, for \$7,500 was asked for this work and the slightly smaller "Inauguration" (1956 - 58, 60" x 72").[103] By the next season, however, the asking price for the smaller new work, "Fêtes Galantes" (1959, 49" x 56") was \$8,000; while the sum realised by "The Girls from Floogel Street" (1958, 64" x 56"), sold in early 1959 for \$6,500, was nearly 50 per cent higher than the 1957 sale price for an equivalent work.[104] Another painter selling well in the early nineteen fifties was Shahn, for the majority of his work sold soon after it reached his gallery.

In 1952 watercolours such as "ABC" (1953, 39" x 29 1/2") went for \$1,000 - \$1,500, while gouaches and temperas such as "Nicholas C" (1951, 22 1/2" x 42 1/4") fetched between \$1,500 - \$4,000.[105] By 1956 (after the artist had received international exposure in Zurich and Venice) his prices were rising steadily. The asking prices for works equivalent to "ABC" was increased to \$2,200, [106] while larger watercolours fetched between \$2,500 - \$4,000. For instance, "Still Life" (1957, 28" x 41 1/4") realised the latter sum.[107] Simultaneously, medium to larger temperas and gouaches started in price at approximately the same level as the most expensive watercolours. For instance, the price of "Africa" (1956, 30" x 53") was \$4,000.[108] Demand for Shahn's work continued to be brisk, and at his 1959 exhibition (a sell-out apart from a few modest drawings) his more significant works ranged from the \$2,500 price tag on the gouache "Lute and Molecules" (1958, 40 1/2" x 27") [109] to \$7,500 for "When the Morning Stars" (1959, 54" x 48"), a rise of between 50 and 75 per cent in just a couple of seasons.[110] Where, in 1951, a good-sized recent Davis oil, such as "Mellow Pad" (1945 - 51, 42" x 26"), sold quickly at \$4,500, and the earlier "Terminal" (1937, 30" x 40") was available for \$1,200, by 1954 this artist's larger, recent, works were selling briskly when offered in the range \$3,500 - \$6,500. By the 1955 - 1956 season - when Davis was only producing about two, generally large-format, works per annum and demand far outstripped supply - [111] the price of a large recent work such as "Cliché" (1955, 56 1/4" x 42") was \$7,500, while the asking price for "Medium Still Life" (1953, 36" x 44") had increased by \$3,000 in only one season. Steady rises continued, and by the next season, although earlier works such as "Landscape with Drying Sails" (1931 - 32, 32" x 40") could be acquired for between \$3,500 and \$4,500, his most recent

large works such as "Lesson No 1" (1956, 52" x 60") were priced at between \$7,500 and \$8,775. [112] By the 1958 - 1959 season the price for a new work such as "Pochade" (1958, 60" x 52") was \$9,500 (a 35 per cent increase in just one year); [113] while another large work, "The Paris Bit" (1959, 46" x 60"), was sold early in the following season for \$13,500. [114]

A rather different pattern to the above can be traced with respect to those artists whose reputations were only beginning in the late nineteen forties, in particular the 'first generation' of the post-war 'abstract-expressionists'. These artists, despite the fact that they had been receiving considerable critical attention since the late nineteen forties, did not apparently participate to any significant degree in the improving sales of the early nineteen fifties. However, as they began to receive more institutional exposure and a qualitatively different gallery presentation in some of the more prestigious New York 'promoter' galleries, the market fortunes of these artists began to improve, slowly at first between 1954 and the 1955 - 1956 season, with increasing acceleration from 1956 onwards. The first artist to experience this improvement was Pollock, whose larger works, such as "Number 1, 1950" (88" x 119"), had generally been priced at between \$2,000 and \$5,000 in 1951, although the very largest, such as "One: Number 31, 1950" (106" x 209"), had prices of up to \$7,500. [115] However, little had been sold at prices higher than one-tenth of the latter figure. By the 1955 - 1956 season - by which time this painter had been receiving a considerable amount of critical attention for nearly a decade, had exhibited much more than most (almost annually), had been included in institutional group shows in both New York (the Modern in 1952, Guggenheim in 1954 and Whitney in

1955) and Europe (Paris/Zurich in 1953 and Berne in 1955) - prices for his larger works ranged from the \$2,000 - \$3,000 asked for works such as "Arabesque" (1948) (double its asking price at its original exhibition in 1949) and "Easter and the Totem" (1953, 81 1/2" x 58") up to \$6,000 - \$8,000 for the most important examples, such as "Blue Poles : Number II, 1952" (83" x 192") or "One: Number 31 - 1950".^[116] In mid-1956 "Autumn Rhythm" (1950, 105" x 223") was being considered by the Museum of Modern Art at the latter price, but following the painter's death the asking price for such 'museum-quality' works was sharply raised to \$30,000.^[117] It was at this price that the Metropolitan Museum reputedly acquired it in 1957, thus setting a record sale price for any work by a modern American painter.^[118] By the end of the decade - by which time Pollock had been given both a New York (1957) and a European-touring retrospective (1958 - 1959), and had grown so much in critical stature that even long hostile sectors of the media were reporting on his work in quite favourable terms ^[119] - even quite modest works were retailing at up to \$9,000 or \$10,000. By early 1960 it was being reported that "Pollock's incidentally now command up to \$100,000 on the market" (this refers to the sum offered for Blue Poles in this year, but the high recorded by then for a work was still apparently \$35,000).^[120]

Although the remarkably high prices fetched by Pollock's work in the later part of the decade undoubtedly owed a good deal to his 'non-living' status, the prices of the other 'Abstract-Expressionist' artists also rose substantially, although to slightly varying degrees. The dealer Sidney Janis reports that in the late nineteen fifties de Kooning's major paintings had risen from their \$3,000 ceiling of 1952 to command prices between \$7,500 - \$8,500;

and in late 1959, by which time this painter too had established an international reputation, [121] a work such as "Merritt Parkway" (1959, 80" x 70 1/2") could fetch as much as \$14,000.[122] By this date demand for his work had risen dramatically from the almost non-existent sales of the early nineteen fifties, and at his show of this year all work was sold by the close of the opening day (for a total of \$150,000). [123] Somewhat more modest improvements were experienced by those who did not receive the same amount of critical and exhibition exposure as Pollock and de Kooning, but the same general pattern is still discernible. For instance, the price range of the Baziotes paintings available at the Kootz Gallery was \$200 - \$2,000 in 1956, little changed from that of the early nineteen fifties. However, by the following season the top price for his largest works, such as "Whirlwind" (1957, 60" x 72") was \$3,500, although medium-sized works such as "Green Night" (1957, 36" x 48") went for \$1,800. Moreover, by this season demand for his work had increased to such an extent that Sam Kootz, his dealer, was able to refer to the painter as "you old seller-outer!".[124] By the 1958 - 1959 season Baziotes' price ceiling for important recent works such as "The Sea" (1959, 60" x 72") had risen by another 45 per cent to \$5,000, although earlier works such as "K-1953" (40" x 88") were still available for \$2,000 - \$3,500.[125] In the same years that Baziotes was beginning to sell so well, sales apparently picked up for Hofmann and Mark Rothko. Although by the mid-fifties the former had exhibited in New York for a decade, his reputation as a teacher meant that it was only at mid-decade that "collectors started to catch up with him".[126] However, with his greater institutional exposure in the late nineteen fifties demand for his work apparently increased significantly, with \$8,500 asked for large recent works such as "Prelude to Spring" (90" x 84").[127]

Something of a similar story was experienced by Mark Rothko, whose work had been priced in a range \$600 - \$3,000 in 1951, although his highest realised sale price by then was the \$1,250 paid by the Museum of Modern Art for "Number 10 -1951" (90" x 57") (a painting priced at \$1,500 in his 1951 show).^[128] However, after he had joined Janis' 'abstract-expressionist' gallery group in 1956, his work began to sell for the first time in appreciable numbers (in the 1957 - 1958 season he realised total sales of \$10,000), ^[129] and by 1958 the prices of his largest paintings were in the region of \$5,000.

It would appear from the sales figures above that, although the work of American artists whose work was stylistically identified with the fashions of the previous decade continued to be in demand, it was that production which could be located within the tradition of 'modern' art and was presented from the early nineteen fifties onwards as the 'heir' to the mantle of the School of Paris (in books such as Thomas B. Hess' Abstract Painting - Background and American Phase), work exhibited in New York 'promoter' galleries alongside European artists and receiving an ever-increasing amount of media and institutional exposure, which benefitted most from price rises throughout the decade (and not just in the first half of the nineteen fifties). However, one caveat must be added at this point - and that is that the unevenness in price rises, and the 'stickiness' noted with respect to contemporary American painters in the 'American Scene' or 'older-expressionist' mould, was not entirely attributable to the pattern of demand. Instead it can be traced to these artists' position within the market as 'contemporary American', and to the emphasis which dealers in this area placed upon the democratisation of the art market as the way in which to

expand sales for their artists. This led to a reluctance on the part of some of the most significant dealers in such art to raise markedly the prices of their artists, for they feared the consequences of price rises which would restrict sales of their artists to the income stratum which could afford the most expensive works, a sector which had hitherto tended to neglect American art in favour of the more prestigious European.^[130] This reluctance was not shared by the 'promoter' dealers concerned with the post-war abstract avant-garde, for their commercial strategies were conditioned by their involvement with European modernism and their efforts aimed at attracting the kind of collector who had previously concentrated upon the European moderns - collectors who were, it must be said, attracted by the same high prices which some dealers deplored.^[131]

However, in response to the rapidly escalating prices fetched both by European moderns and by some of the younger generation of abstract painters (in particular Pollock) from 1957 onwards, the price levels to which the work of the older or more realist/expressionist contemporary American artists were raised in 1958 bore a truer resemblance to what the market would bear. Indeed, sales of these artists did not fall off despite the substantial rises noted above.^[132] The fact that it was the 'younger' generation of expressionists or those working at the more abstract end of the spectrum who broke most successfully through this price barrier was, one believes, tied to their greater critical distance from earlier nationalist conceptions of American art, and their greater compatibility with the new presentation of American art within both a liberal-democrat and modernist framework. However, if an expressionist painter, such as Zerbe, suffered from

a paucity of critical attention in the nineteen fifties to the extent that his prices did not either reach the upper reaches of the market for contemporary American art nor equal those with whom he was compared in the nineteen forties, there was still sufficient demand for such work for prices to rise substantially. For instance, large works by Zerbe rose in price from \$1,000 - \$1,500 in the early to middle nineteen fifties to between \$4,000 and \$4,500 in the 1959 - 1960 season; while those of Rueben Tam rose from the \$200 - \$500 price range of his 1949 exhibition to a \$2,000 price tag on his larger paintings 10 years later.[133]

Despite the sometimes quite appreciable price rises in the post-war years, and the efforts of partisan critics to promote a 'characteristically' American art, whether it be expressionist or abstract-expressionist, by the mid nineteen fifties the critical and collectable status of American art in relation to its European counterpart was still apparently somewhat depreciated by many collectors, in particular those with the means to buy the most highly-priced works, as either provincial or derivative.[134]

Indeed, the critic Thomas B. Hess opined in 1955 that

"The Americans, even the greatest of them, still are carefully avoided by our big collectors, sell their works rarely, and would be delighted with a chance to become disillusioned with material success. (The dampest shudder-maker from Europe can do better in a month on Fifty-Seventh Street, or any main street, than a Franz Kline or Pousette-Dart in several years, for most of us consider art is a "cultural product", coming from established sources like wine or gowns)." [135]

and that

"...the big American money is all going into European art". [136]

However, from 1957 onwards there was apparently

"an unprecedented rush in American art by all the museum and new collectors who have been diverted from European art to American." [137]

The latter circumstance owed a good deal to the escalation in the prices of European modern art, the 'modern masters' in particular, outlined in the previous chapter, and the pressure this created upon collectors to divert their attention into other fields. However, what specific styles or artists benefitted most from this general increase in interest was determined not only by the critical and commercial context in which these were presented in New York, but also by the presentation of American artists abroad.

An editorial in Arts in 1955, noted that:

".... there are many American artists who, because their works have no fabulous international publicity build-ups, remain the stepchildren of the art market" [138]

However, contiguous with the drift of American collectors into the field of American art, it was noted that European collectors were not only coming to New York to purchase European works, but were exhibiting an increasing interest in what was happening in American art. By the latter years of the decade, it was remarked that European collectors were travelling to New York to purchase it in particular. This situation was no doubt due to the efforts which galleries and institutions had made during the nineteen fifties to publicise American art abroad, for after the somewhat abortive attempts of the immediate post-war years (such as the show of post-war abstractionists organised by Samuel Kootz at the Galerie Maeght in 1947 [139] or the rudely-terminated State Department sponsored tours of contemporary art in 1947 - 1948) the nineteen fifties saw the expansion of attempts to display recent American art in Europe, and an increasingly favourable European response to these efforts. On the one hand single exhibitions were organised in commercial galleries (for instance "American Vanguard Art" was organised by

Janis for the Galerie de France in Paris in 1952), while on the other shows were staged in European institutions (for example, "12 Contemporary American Painters and Sculptors" in Paris and Zurich in 1953).^[140] In addition, efforts were made by cultural agencies such as the Museum of Modern Art's International Council (which sent touring exhibitions of modern American art to Europe in 1955 - 1956 and "The New American Painting"),^[141] and American art achieved an increasingly high profile at international expositions such as the Venice and Sao Paulo Biennales. These efforts concentrated upon tendencies which were felt to be suitable signifiers of American liberal culture, those which supposedly carried the message of freedom of expression as contrasted to the 'social realism' of the Eastern block, whether it be the more humanist painting of Shahn or the abstractions of the 'abstract-expressionists'.^[142]

One would like to suggest that these efforts had two consequences upon the market for modern American art, particularly that of the post-war 'abstract-expressionists', which reinforced the pressures created by the escalating prices of European moderns. One was that the broadening of the market to include European collectors increased demand for these works. But of more importance was the fact that the raising of the prestige of American art abroad was crucial in attracting the attention of the more prestigious collectors, those willing and able to pay very high prices, persons who traditionally had tended to view any art not acclaimed in Europe as inferior. This had the effect of freeing the market for American contemporary art from the lower price brackets to which it had previously been confined by the income levels and cultural prejudices of the, generally less-wealthy, native collectors who had previously comprised the only market for this art.

Finally, it would appear that a combination of the change in the context in which American art was presented, the coming-to-fruition of the attempts made since the late nineteen forties to present some American art as the 'heir' to the aesthetic hegemony enjoyed by the School of Paris up until the Second World War (which probably jelled for the first time on the occasion of the twin Modern/Whitney "New Decade" exhibitions in 1955), [143] the new international prestige of American avant-garde art, and the breakthrough of some American artists into the realms of publicity-attracting record prices, coalesced to create a situation where, for the first time since the inception of New York as a centre in the commerce of art, American art assumed a market status comparable with that of its European counterparts. This led to the final development in the market for American art in the period under consideration, a new concentration of attention by dealers, collectors and the critics upon American artists to the exclusion of their European counterparts. As the dealer Martha Jackson explained to the European artist Alessandro Otero

"... for the moment, public and press interest here is centred, as never before, on American artists." [144]

It is this development, above all, which signals the end of a discrete period in the development in the market for American art in New York, and heralds the rather different circumstances of the next decade.

NOTES

- 1 James Thrall Soby: "American Art Marts" - Saturday Review of Literature: 5/2/1955; p 34.
- 2 Piri Halasz: "Figuration in the '40s: The Other Expressionism" - Art in America: December 1982; pp 111 - 147.
- 3 Peyton Boswell: "Red Stars in the Galleries" - Art Digest: 1/1/1941; p 3.
- 4 "Crowninshield, Segonzac" - Art News: XLII (1943 - 44): 10; pp 27, 31. "Vernissage" - Art News: XLII: 13; p 7. Art Digest: 1/10/1944; p 3.
- 5 Aline Louchheim: "Who Buys What in the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIII (1944 - 45): 10; pp 12 - 14, 23, 24. Aline Louchheim: "Second Season of the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIV: 19; pp 9 - 11, 26. Art Digest: 1/10/1944; p 3.
- 6 New York Times: 29/12/1940; II; p 9. Elizabeth McCausland, "The American Tradition" - ACA Magazine, n.d., A.C.A. Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D304.
- 7 "New York Auction Season Hits All-Time Record High" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 9; p 30. Art News: XLV (1946 - 47): 5; p 44.
- 8 At this time contemporary art accounted for only some 15 per cent of the total. "Fifty Seventh Street: Bottleneck for Art" - Fortune: September 1946; p 145.
- 9 Aline Louchheim: "Second Season of the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 19; p 10. Marian Willard, interview with Paul Cummings, 13/6/1969, Archives of American Art.
- 10 Appendix A: Table I. See also: Emma S. Woytinsky: Profile of the United States Economy; pp 142, 143, 463. Harold G. Vatter: The United States Economy in the 1950s; p 230.
- 11 Lester V. Chandler: Inflation in the United States; p 33. Woytinsky: *ibid*; p 148.
- 12 New York Times: 29/4/1942; p 15. "The Boom" - Life: 16/9/1944; pp 27 - 31.
- 13 Aline Louchheim: "Second Season of the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIV (1945 - 46): 19; p 10.
- 14 Aline Louchheim: "Who Buys What in the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIII (1944 - 45): 10; p 14.
- 15 Ralph M. Pearson: Experiencing American Pictures; p 144.
- 16 Correspondence 1940 - 1945, Rehn Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll number D293.
- 17 Edith Halpert, letter to Stanley Marcus, 5/4/1947. Edith Halpert, letter to H Russell Hitchcock, 4/3/1954 - Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 18 Fletcher Martin File, Midtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 19 Rehn Gallery Papers: *op cit*.
- 20 Aline Louchheim: "Who Buys What in the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIII (1944 - 45): 10; p 14.
- 21 See Appendix C: Sale E.
- 22 Winthrop Sargeant: "Max Weber" - Life: 20/8/1945; p 84.
- 23 Edith Halpert, letter to Albright Art Museum, 25/10/1946 - Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. (Unless specified otherwise all correspondence from Halpert cited below is contained in these records).
- 24 Edith Halpert, letter to Fort Worth Art Association, 7/2/1941; Edith Halpert, letter to William Eisendrath, 15/1/1942. Edith Halpert, letter to R W Wakely, 19/11/1945. See also correspondence files 1940 - 1945 for further examples, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 25 Museum of Modern Art, letter to Edith Halpert, 13/2/1942. Edith

- Halpert, letter to A. Elliot (Time), 18/10/1951. For further examples see correspondence files, 1940 - 1945, Downtown Gallery Papers.
- 26 Edith Halpert, letter to Edward J. Gallagher, 27/5/1952. For further examples see correspondence files, 1940 - 1945, Downtown Gallery Papers.
 - 27 Edith Halpert, letter to Walker Art Centre, 28/4/1943 & 4/10/1946; Edith Halpert, letter to Ann Smelzer, 20/9/1946; Edith Halpert, letters to Burton Tremaine, 12/6/1945 & 19/6/1945.
 - 28 The painting in question had a sale price of \$500 at the time it won the purchase prize - Mark Tobey Scrapbooks, Marian Willard Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number N69-118.
 - 29 Samuel Kootz Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm rolls number 1318 - 1323.
 - 30 Art of the Century Gallery, Annual Accounts 1942 - 1946 - photostats included in Bernard J. Reis Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 31 Over a three year period this fell successively by an average of \$0.7 million. "Auction Report" - Art News: XLVI (1947 - 48): 5; p 21, 40. "Auction Record" - Art News: XLVII (1948 - 49): 5; p 8. "Auction Record" - Art News: XLVIII (1949 - 50): 5; p 10.
 - 32 Betty Parsons, letter to Peggy Guggenheim, 26/2/1948 - Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 33 Betty Parsons, letter to F. C. Bartlett, 10/10/1947 - Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
Moreover, Samuel Kootz had to close temporarily in 1948 because his income from sales did not match his contract commitments - see Chapter 5.
 - 34 Frank K. M. Rehn, letter to Henry Schaeffer, 6/5/1949 - Frank K. M. Rehn Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D293.
 - 35 Aline Louchheim: "Art Sales and Prices" - New York Times: 11/7/1948; II; p 8.
 - 36 Harold G. Vatter: The United States Economy in the 1950s; p 49. Joseph C. Goulden: "The Best Years: 1945 - 1950"; pp 132 - 142.
 - 37 Aline Louchheim : "Who Buys What in the Picture Boom" - Art News: XLIII: 10; p 13. Aline Louchheim: "Art Sales and Prices" - New York Times: 11/7/1948; II; p 8.
 - 38 Randolph E. Paul: Taxation in the United States: p 494.
 - 39 Bert G. Hickman: Growth and Stability in the Post-War Economy; pp 79 - 85. Herman P. Miller: Income of the American People; pp 109, 111. Lester V. Chandler: Inflation in the United States; p 10. Arthur J. Brown: The Great Inflation; pp 33, 304 - 307.
 - 40 Frank K. M. Rehn, letter to California Palace of the Legion of Honour, 6/4/1945. Price list, 1/2/1945.
"Office at Night" had apparently been raised in price to \$1,800 by mid-1948, but was sold in 1949 for the original price - Frank K. M. Rehn, letter to Walker Art Centre, 7/5/1948 & Statement of sales to the artist, 28/4/1949. Rehn Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D293.
 - 41 Frank K. M. Rehn, letter to Des Moines Art Centre, 23/4/1948; Statement of Sales to the artist, 28/4/1949 - Frank K.M. Rehn Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D293.
 - 42 Correspondence, 1945 - 1949 - Rehn Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D293.
 - 43 "Revolt in Boston" - Life: 21/2/1949; p 84.
 - 44 Betty Parsons, letter to Peggy Guggenheim, 26/2/1948 - Betty

- Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 45 College Art Journal: VII (1947 - 48): 4; p 346. "Americans Abroad" - Magazine Of Art: XL (1947): 1; pp 21 - 25. "A Crisis" - New York Times: 13/4/1947: II; p 10. "Let the State Department Speak" - New York Times: 15/6/1947: II; p 10. Aline Louchheim: "The Government and Our Art Abroad" - New York Times: 23/5/1947: II; p 8. Lloyd Goodrich: "Politics and Policies in American Art" - Art Digest: 1/11/1951; p 20.
 - 46 "Symposium: The State of American Art" - Magazine of Art: XLII (1949): 3; pp 83 - 99. Piri Halasz: "Art Criticism (and Art History) in New York: The 1940s vs. the 1980s; Part One: The Newspapers" - Arts: February 1983; pp 91 - 97. Piri Halasz: "Art Criticism (and Art History) in New York: The 1940s vs. the 1980s; Part Two: The Magazines" - Arts: March 1983; pp 64 - 73.
 - 47 New York Times: 21/1/1951; p 9.
 - 48 Time: 17/11/1947; p 36. "Freak Painting Prizes" - Life: 28/6/1948; p 26. "Jackson Pollock - Is He the Greatest Living Painter in the United States?" - Life: 8/8/1949; pp 43, 44, 46.
 - 49 Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number ND/29; Correspondence, 1945 - 1950, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 50 Edith Halpert, letter to Mrs Charles Urschel, 31/1/1952.
 - 51 Edith Halpert: letter to Charles C. Cunningham, 16/1/1952.
 - 52 Correspondence, 1945 - 1951, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 53 Ibid. Edward W. Root, letter to Munson-Proctor-Williams Institute, 3/2/1951 - Edward W. Root Correspondence, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll number 2378.
 - 54 Lee Gatch Correspondence, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D160.
 - 55 Edith Halpert, letter to Virginia Museum, 19/5/1950. Edward W. Root, letter to Munson-Proctor-Williams Institute, 3/2/1951 - Edward W. Root Correspondence, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 2378.
 - 56 Jackson Pollock File, Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 57 Betty Parsons, letter to Peggy Guggenheim, 26/2/1948 - Ibid.
 - 58 Jackson Pollock File, Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 59 Samuel Kootz, letter to Alfred H. Barr, 17/1/1949. Alfred H Barr Papers, Archives, Museum of Modern Art.
 - 60 However, there is no data to indicate that the volume of sales by these artists was improving - there are apparently no extant sales records for this gallery.
 - 61 For instance, The Exaltment, had been priced at \$900 in 1947 at the Parsons Gallery - Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
 - 62 Samuel Kootz: Dorothy Seckler, interview, 13/4/1964, Archives of American Art. Les Levine: "The Spring of '55" - Arts: April 1974; pp 34, 35.
 - 63 Kootz Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number 1318 - 1323.
 - 64 Real G.N.P. rose by 4.7 per cent between 1950 and 1955. Hickman: op cit; p 80. Vatter: op cit; pp 67, 78, 79. Paul: op cit; pp 567 & 622.
 - 65 "Collector's Preferences" - Art Digest: 15/1/1951; p 5. "Auction Record" - Art Digest: 1/7/1951; p 20. "Annual Report" - Art News: LI (1952 - 53): 5; p 11. "Auction Report" - Art Digest: August 1952; p 19. "Season's Summary" - Art Digest: August 1953; p 19.

- 66 Edith Halpert, letter to Stanley Marcus, 6/5/1952.
- 67 Edith Halpert, letter to Lawrence Fleischman, 14/1/1953. See also Edith Halpert, letter to James Byrnes, 9/10/1954.
- 68 "Business in 1956" - Time: 31/12/1956; p 54. Vatter: op cit; p 107.
- 69 Clarence Dean: "Galleries Enjoy Boom" - New York Times - 25/2/1957; p 16.
- 70 Vatter: op cit; p 106. Hickman: op cit; pp 124 - 125, 149.
- 71 "Under the Boom" - Time: 1/12/1958; p 66.
- 72 Edith Halpert, letter to Sylvan Lang, 30/6/1958. See also Edith Halpert, letter to Westmorland County Museum, 15/3/1958; Edith Halpert, letter to Lawrence Fleischmann, 2/11/1955; Edith Halpert, letter to Felix Landau, 24/11/1958. Edith Halpert, letter to Atlanta Art Association, 14/2/1959. See also: Sidney Janis, interview with Paul Cummings, 25/7/1972, Archives of American Art.
- 73 Art Digest: 1/8/1954; p 22.
- 74 "Parke Bennett's Season Summed Up" - Art Digest: 1/8/1955; p 32.
- 75 \$1,548,500 of which was attributable to the Arnold Kirkeby sale of November 1958 - Richard H. Rush: Art as an Investment; p 5. Wesley Towner: The Elegant Auctioneers; p 591.
- 76 Hickman: op cit; pp 35, 81, 123. Chandler: op cit; p 368. Vatter: op cit; p 223.
Because of inflation there had little increase in the value of incomes in the immediate post-war half-decade - Miller: op cit; p 109. Woytinsky: op cit; p 142 - 43.
- 77 See Appendix A: Table IV.
- 78 Woytinsky: op cit; p 152.
- 79 "Market Report"- Art in America: March 1960, n.p. John Canaday "Wyeth Painting Sold for \$35,000" - New York Times: 29/9/1959; p 41.
- 80 "High Cost of a Clown" - Life: 3/2/1958; p 32.
- 81 Edith Halpert, letter to Sylvan Lang, 23/2/1956.
- 82 Price list, University of Iowa Twentieth Anniversary Festival of Fine Arts, 18/6 - 13/8/1958. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Edith Halpert: letter to Buffalo Fine Arts Gallery, 19/11/1956.
- 85 Edith Halpert: letter to Sylvan Lang, 7/3/1959.
- 86 Edith Halpert, letter to Alfred Frankenstein, 14/11/1952. Edith Halpert, letter to H. Harvard Arnason, 8/5/1953.
- 87 Price list, University of Iowa Twentieth Anniversary Festival of Fine Arts, 18/6 - 13/8/1958. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 88 In late 1952 the Downtown Gallery only held 4 works of any importance for sale, and following his death in 1953 only 9 works were left unsold from his entire oeuvre (of which some sold immediately - Edith Halpert, letter to Mrs C. Urschel, 31/2/1952; Edith Halpert, letter to David Harris, 11/12/1952; Edith Halpert, letter to Atlanta Art Association, 27/9/1956; Edith Halpert, letter to University of Nebraska Art Gallery, 17/11/1953.
- 89 Edith Halpert, letter to Nebraska Art Gallery, 17/11/1953.
- 90 Edith Halpert, letter to Edward J. Gallagher, 20/6/1952. Edith Halpert, letter to Lawrence Fleischman, September 1952.
- 91 Edith Halpert, letter to Charles C. Cunningham, 16/1/1952. Edith Halpert, letter to Dr H. I. Keiser, 7/1/1953.
- 92 Edith Halpert, letter to Elizabeth Navas (Murdock Collection), 5/5/1954.

- 93 Edith Halpert, letter to J. M. Roberts, 30/8/1955.
- 94 Edith Halpert, letter to Mrs W. O. McIntyre, 5/3/1953. Edith Halpert, letter to San Francisco Art Museum, 10/9/1955. Edith Halpert, letter to Henry A. LaFarge, 11/9/1958.
- 95 Marin too died in 1953. Edith Halpert, letter to Peter Wick (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), 15/1/1958. Edith Halpert, letter to D. A. Melamed, 19/2/1959.
- 96 James Thrall Soby: "American Art Marts" - Saturday Review of Literature: 5/2/1955; pp 34 - 35.
- 97 Price List, University of Iowa, Twentieth Anniversary Festival of the Fine Art, 18/6 - 13/8/1958. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 98 Price List, Pomona Art Gallery, 1958 correspondence, Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 99 University of Nebraska Art Gallery: letter to Downtown Gallery, 10/1/1958. Price list, University of Iowa, 20th Anniversary Festival, 18/6 - 13/8/1958. Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 100 Price list, Corcoran Gallery, 1958. Edith Halpert: letter to L. S. Myers, 17/2/1959.
- 101 For instance, The Gangster's Funeral had sold to the Whitney Museum in mid 1953 for \$5,000. Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1388.
- 102 Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1388.
- 103 Price list, University of Iowa, op cit. Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1388.
- 104 Edith Halpert, letter to Joseph Strick, 14/10/1957. Charles Alan, letter to David Pincus, 22/10/1959, Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 1388.
- 105 Edith Halpert, letter to E. J. Gallagher, 20/6/1952. Edith Halpert, letter to R.A. Anderson, 20/10/1952. Edith Halpert, letter to David Harris, 11/12/1952.
- 106 Edith Halpert, letter to Butler Art Institute, 5/5/1956; Edith Halpert, letter to Des Moines Art Centre, 31/5/1957; Edith Halpert, letter to Dwight Kirsch, 4/6/1957.
- 107 Edith Halpert, letter to Mrs R G Spiegel, 10/12/1957.
- 108 Edith Halpert, letter to M. B. Christison (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts), 28/10/1956. Edith Halpert, letter to Dr Lawrence E. Maze, 14/5/1958. Price List, University of Iowa, op cit.
- 109 Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, letter to Edith Halpert, 4/12/1959. Edith Halpert, letter to Milton M. Miller, 14/3/1959. Edith Halpert, letter to C. Friedland, 24/2/1959.
- 110 Edith Halpert, letter to the Picard Gallery, 27/10/1959. The last of these paintings was apparently sold on the opening day of the exhibition.
- 111 Edith Halpert, letter to James Johnson Sweeney, 8/10/1955. Edith Halpert, Norton Gallery of Art, 20/3/1956.
- 112 Although the former was sold to the Art Institute of Chicago for \$6,750 in 1957 this represents an asking price of \$7,500 minus approximately the standard museum discount of 10 per cent - Edith Halpert, letter to Arnold H. Maremont, 12/10/1957.
- 113 Edith Halpert, letter to Mrs Stanley M. Freeman, 7/7/1958. Price List, University of Iowa: op cit.
- 114 Edith Halpert, letter to Brooklyn Museum, 18/2/1959. Edith Halpert, letter to Friends of the Whitney Museum, 3/11/1959. Edith Halpert, letter to Stanley Freeman, 6/2/1959.
- 115 Jackson Pollock File, Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 116 Sidney Janis, interview with Paul Cummings, 21/3 - 26/9/1972,

- Archives of American Art. Bernard Myers: Tracking the Marvelous; p 14.
- Ben Heller, interview with Paul Cummings, 8/1/1973, Archives of American Art - In this interview Heller states that the price he paid was \$8,000, but Janis has consistently maintained that the figure was \$6,000 - as the gallery records were not opened to me despite my request, I was unable to double-check on either version.
- 117 Janis maintains that this rise was at the insistence of Lee Krasner, the artist's widow. Janis: Cummings, op cit.
- 118 The announced price did not mention, however, that as part of the deal the Metropolitan returned a smaller Pollock which it already owned (then valued at some one-third of the asking price for "Autumn Rhythm") - See p 61 of Alfred Frankfurter: "Midas on Parnassus" - Art News Annual: November 1958; pp 35 - 63, 192 - 198.
- 119 "What it is about" - Life: 11/11/1959; pp 72 - 80.
- 120 Art Market Letter, Richard Feigen Gallery, 1/7/1960. See also "Market Report" - Art in America: March 1960, n.p.
- "Fine Arts in the Market Place" - Life: 19/9/1960; pp 12 - 16.
- 121 He had been included in Venice - 1950, 1954, 1956 - and Sao Paulo - 1951, 1953 - Biennales, and the 1958 - 1959 European-wide "The New American Painting".
- 122 Fritz Neugass: "New Records for Abstract Art" - Arts: February 1965; p 22.
- 123 M. Elkoff: "American Art as Blue Chip" - Esquire: January 1965; p 38.
- 124 Samuel Kootz: letter to William Baziotes, 8/2/1958. William Baziotes Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number 347. See also William Baziotes Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number N/70 - 21.
- 125 William Baziotes Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number 347 & N/70 - 21. Stable Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled.
- 126 Cynthia Goodman: Hofmann; p 68.
- 127 Charles Alan, letter to John Denman, 20/5/1957 - Charles Alan Gallery Papers. Hirshhorn Archives, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington D. C.. "Boom on Canvas" - Time: 7/4/1958; p 80.
- 128 Betty Parsons Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll number N68-70.
- 129 "Boom on Canvas" - Time: 7/4/1958; p 80. Elkoff: op cit.
- 130 Charles Alan, letter to Joseph Strick, 14/9/1957 - Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll number 1388. Edith Halpert, letter to B.A. France, 17/3/1956; Edith Halpert, letter to Westmorland County Museum, 15/3/1958; Edith Halpert, letter to Sylvan Lang, 30/6/1958.
- 131 Sidney Janis: Paul Cummings, interview, 1/8/1972, Archives of American Art.
- 132 Edith Halpert, letter to Sylvan Lang, 30/6/1958; Edith Halpert, letter to William E. Scott, 24/10/1958; Edith Halpert: letter to Jacob Schulman, 21/10/1958.
- 133 Downtown Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, unfiled. Charles Alan Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Rolls Number 1388 - 1390.
- 134 Leo Castelli, interview with Paul Cummings, 11/6/1969, Archives of American Art.
- 135 Thomas B Hess: "Mixed Pickings From Ten Fat Years" - Art News: LIV (1955 - 56): 4; p 37. See also - Levine: op cit.; Kootz, Seckler; op cit.

- 136 Martha Jackson, interview with Paul Cummings, 23/5/1969, Archives of American Art.
- 137 Edith Halpert, letter to Westmorland County Museum, 15/3/1958.
- 138 "Chauvinism or Reality?" - Arts: 30 (1955): 3; p 11.
In this year Fortune noted that American painters "cut no ice on the international market" - "The Great International Art Market" - Fortune: December 1955; p 152.
- 139 Serge Guilbaut: "How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art"; pp 152 - 153 and notes. See also Russell Lynes: "Good Old Modern", pp 183 - 188, with respect to the panning American painting received in the 1938 exhibition of American arts which the Museum of Modern Art staged in Paris.
- 140 James Fitzsimmons: "Art for Export: Will it Survive the Voyage?" - Art Digest: 1/1/1952; p 9. "Abstractions for Export" - Time: 11/2/1954; p 70.
- 141 Aline B Saarinen: "American Art Abroad" - New York Times: 17/4/1955: II; p 18. Patrick Heron: "The Americans at the Tate Gallery" - Arts: March 1956; pp 15 - 17. "Americans at Brussels: Soft Sell, Range and Controversy" - Time: 16/6/1958; pp 668 - 70. Robert M. Coates: "Excursions (and Alarums) Abroad" - New Yorker: 6/6/1959; pp 115 - 117. "American Abstraction Abroad" - Time: 4/8/1958; pp 40 - 42. "Kenneth Rexroth: '2 Americans Seen Abroad'" - Art News: LVIII (1959 - 60): 4; pp 30 - 33, 52, 53.
Eva Cockcroft: "Abstract Expressionism: Weapon of the Cold War" - Artforum: XII (1973): 10; pp 9, 40, 41. Jane de Hart Mathews: "Art and Politics in Cold War America" - American Historical Review: October 1976; pp 762 - 787. Russell Lynes: Good Old Modern: pp 383 - 391.
- 142 Frances K. Pohl: "An American in Venice" - Art History: 4 (1981): 1; pp 80 - 111.
- 143 Thomas B. Hess: "Mixed Pickings from Ten Fat Years" - Art News: LIV (1955 - 56): 4; pp 36 - 39, 77, 79. Robert Rosenblum: "The New Decade" - Art Digest: 15/5/1955; pp 20, 21. Time: 23/5/1955; p 66.
- 144 Martha Jackson, letter to Allesandro Otero, 29/5/1959 - Martha Jackson Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm Roll Number D246.

CONCLUSION

The hopes in the late nineteen thirties and the early nineteen forties that the Federal Art programmes had effected a deep and lasting change in the attitude of the American public toward contemporary art, and had helped to create the first substantial market for this art, would appear to have been over-optimistic for their time. [1] But by the end of the nineteen fifties a revolution had undoubtedly taken place, for modern art held a place in cultural life which in the pre World War II era would have seemed almost too much to hope for - the number of exhibition outlets or galleries in New York had nearly quadrupled by 1960 from the some 70 establishments of 20 years before) with a consequent expansion in the number of artists and variety of shows staged, annual museum and exhibition attendance had soared, total sales volumes at the most immediate index of the auction house had trebled and that in private galleries had increased by a similarly substantial proportion, while media attention was for the first time focused upon the high and ever-escalating sale prices which some modern art was fetching - and it is this dramatic shift over less than two decades which has made the New York art market of the time significant as a subject for study.

It must be noted that these developments came at a time when the United States was for the first time not only the richest country in the world but assuming the stature of an international political power, when North American political and cultural ideologies were being expounded and exported to the rest of the world and the status of the United States as the new arbiter of world affairs, in succession to Europe, was being extolled by various American politicians and thinkers, and when contemporary

American art was achieving a critical status commensurate with that of Europe for the first time. Although it is still probably a point of debate as to whether New York became the dominant international art centre during this period, as Paris had been in the early decades of the century, there is no doubt that New Yorkers regarded it as so by the late nineteen fifties, nor that New York had indeed assumed a position within the international market for modern art which echoed the critical status which contemporary American art had achieved in Europe by the end of the same period.

The bald statistics of expansion and escalation were the product, not of the efforts of any one force or 'organisation-set', but of a coalescence of the influence of several factors and groupings. No single 'set', or individual constituent thereof, can be described as having been the dominant influence during the entire span of the period under consideration. Instead, one sees the growth of the New York market as a dance, even a balancing act, between the two 'organisation-sets' of modern art museum and dealer-gallery: a minuet in which the former took the leading part in early years, especially with respect to introducing new art to the New York public; while the latter set the pace in later years, in particular from the early nineteen fifties onwards, as the need for the primary gatekeeping function generally reserved for galleries by the legal position of institutions increased in importance as the number of producers expanded.

Within the context of the museum grouping, however, one must add the caveat that it the Museum of Modern Art alone, with its conscious orientation toward the public, which makes the activities of the modern art museum significant. However, although the impact

of the Modern as a tastemaker in a more general sense varied, for although it was almost evangelical in its promotion of modern art in its first decade its acquired status later made it much more conservative and validatory, this museum undoubtedly played a seminal role in encouraging a market for modern art. Its status as a "public" institution, one supposedly having a disinterested involvement in the presentation of the best in modern art, and its identification with the socio-economic elite, gave it a very special standing within the structure of the New York art market. The influence which it consciously exerted was only reinforced all the more by the tax situation which made charitable institutions a focus for the wealthy.

One must stress, at this point, that one considers that United States tax laws played a role of considerable importance in the growth of the New York art market in the period under consideration. One must remember that it was only in the early nineteen forties that income and estate taxation became a real burden on the wealthy, and strategies which offered the possibility of lessening these obligations became attractive. The unique encouragement which the tax deduction provisions of these laws gave to museum-related patronage greatly enhanced the influence of museums within the whole structure of the market. Also, the institution-ward drift of works which these provisions encouraged undoubtedly helped to stimulate movement in the market, as the work of established artists became scarcer and more expensive and dealers and potential collectors were forced to seek possible alternatives.

Members of the dealer-gallery grouping could also use the attractions of this tax situation in their efforts to encourage

individual collectors to buy works; but differences in orientation and financial structure meant that this grouping did not speak with one voice. In terms of critical selection promoter-dealers most usually reinforced the critical judgement^s/presented by institutional secondary-gatekeepers; like the Modern their orientation toward the consumer rendered them particularly important in encouraging the market. The artist-orientation and straitened circumstances of the majority of gatekeeper galleries undoubtedly reduced the potential these had for promoting the work of, or broadening the market base for, the artists in whom they were interested. The great significance of the latter must be in the ever-greater opportunities which they provided for the exposure of a greater variety of production, and the reinforcement which this increasing breadth of available talent gave the efforts of other tastemakers, promoters and secondary gatekeepers to widen the potential public and, ultimately, market for contemporary art.

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn about the American collector must be the overwhelming conformity characteristic of this group: not only did the majority of collections follow the established canon of modernist art history as promulgated by institutional tastemakers and dealers; but the over-riding tendency of such collectors was to amass a varied cross-selection, whether it be of the School of Paris or contemporary American art, rather than to build collections remarkable for their personal taste. That this was the case leads one back to the fact that most collectors of any note were drawn from a rather narrow socio-economic band and, as a rule, had similar educational and cultural backgrounds; and to the prevailing norm of conformity which permeated life and

culture in the United States in the post Second World War era. The apparent dependence of American collectors upon cultural arbiters, even among the social elite which might conceivably have had some interest in avant-garde sponsorship as a means of cultural differentiation, [2] must also reflect in some way the low prestige of art and consequent lack of involvement by North Americans in art collecting prior to World War II, and the validity of the claim, made by Whitridge in 1944, that there was a need for "education for buying".[3] One must recall that the only socio-professional grouping which distinguished itself by the relative non-conformity of its taste and an orientation toward novelty was that of those with a professional or semi-professional involvement in the fine arts.

The development and growth of the art market in New York in the two decades in question would appear to rest, in the final assessment, in large measure upon the success of the two main tastemaker 'organisation-sets' in raising the status of modern art, and encouraging an interest in, and patronage of, this art among the moneyed upper-middle and upper classes. The beliefs, or hopes, of commentators during the late nineteen thirties and during the Second World War that the potential market for art lay lower down the income ladder than theretofore had been based upon the assumption that a radical re-organisation of society was taking place, a levelling-out in which the very wealthy were being pauperised by swingeing taxation and the poorer were becoming more prosperous as a result of higher employment and greater social benefits. These assumptions proved unfounded because, once the exceptional liquidity caused by the demands of a war-driven economy had passed, there was little real re-distribution of wealth. The continued narrowness of

the economic base from which potential buyers were drawn meant that strategies to deliberately encourage a new approach toward art patronage were not a marked success, for these classes tended to buy for time-honoured reasons such as social prestige, the use of possessions as badges of peer group membership, and speculation. The fact that economic circumstances continued to circumscribe the size of the potential art collecting classes helped to keep the New York art market to 'village' rather than 'city' dimensions for many years. One believes that it is significant that the real expansion of the art market in New York started in the early to middle nineteen fifties, contiguous with the economic boom that, for the first time, bolstered the ranks of the upper and upper-middle classes by any appreciable amount. On their own, tastemaking efforts could not effect a radical shift in nature nor a dramatic expansion in the New York art market. But together with changing conditions in United States economic and cultural circumstances, as the country consolidated its role as an international super-power and American contemporary art for the first time achieved some international renown, the statistics of the New York art market were able to demonstrate expansion and escalation, and the New York art market for the first time achieved its mature form and an international stature. The years from 1959 onwards witnessed a further dramatic expansion in the scale of the New York art market, but that is another story - one involving many new characters and a differing socio-economic and cultural context.

NOTES

- 1 See critics such as Peyton Boswell, for instance in his Modern American Painting (1940), or periodicals such as Art Digest and the New York Times.
- 2 Jean Baudrillard: Theorie de Consommation; pp 75 - 90. Paul di Maggio & Michael Useem: "Social Class and Arts Consumption" - Theory and Society: Vol 5; pp 141 - 159.
- 3 Eugenia Lea Whitridge: "Trends in the Selling of Art" - College Art Journal: 3 (1943 - 44): 2; pp 58 - 64.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TABLE I: AVERAGE EARNINGS OF MANUFACTURING WORKERS IN \$, WEEKLY AND HOURLY RATES, 1939 - 58.

Year	Consumer Price Index (1947/9 = 100)	Hourly Earnings (Gross)	Weekly Earnings (Gross)	Weekly Earnings (Net - Current \$)	Weekly Earnings (Net - 1947/9 \$)
1939	59.4	0.63	23.63		
1940	59.9			24.95	41.65
1941	62.9	0.73	29.48		
1942	69.7			36.28	52.05
1943	74.0	0.96	43.07		
1944	75.2			44.06	58.59
1945	76.9	1.02	44.20		
1946	83.4	1.08	43.32	43.20	51.80
1947	95.5			48.24	50.51
1948	102.8	1.33	53.12	53.17	51.72
1949	101.8			53.83	52.88
1950	102.8	1.44	58.32	57.21	55.65
1951	111.0			61.28	55.21
1952	113.5	1.65	67.16	63.62	56.05
1953	114.4			66.58	58.20
1954	114.8	1.78	70.49	66.78	58.17
1955	114.5			70.45	61.53
1956	116.2	1.95	78.78	73.22	63.01
1957	120.2			74.97	62.37
1958	123.5	2.11	82.71	76.05	61.58

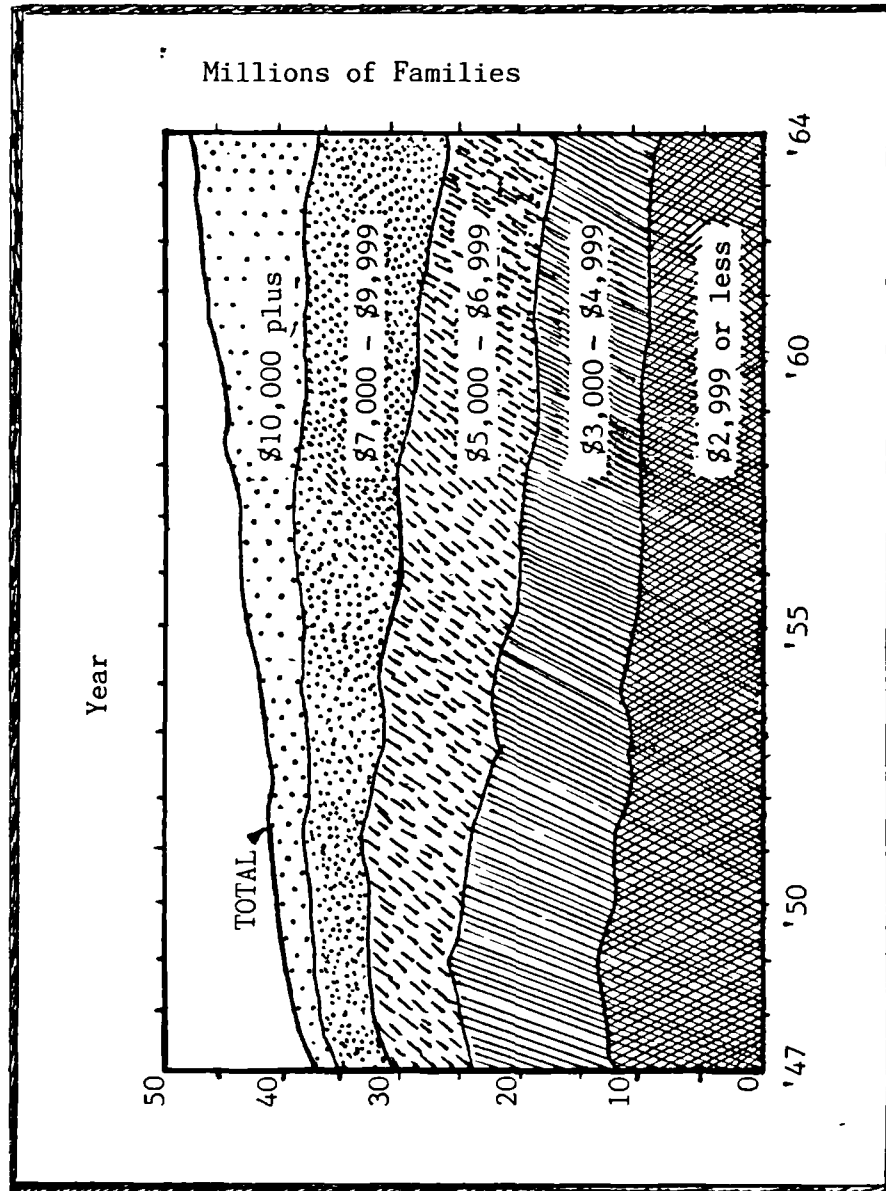
Re: Harold G Vatter: United States Economy in the 1950s; p 230
Emma S. Woytinsky: Profile of the United States Economy; p 463

TABLE II: AVERAGE FAMILY PERSONAL INCOME AND AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS
PER FULL-TIME EMPLOYEE, SELECTED YEARS 1929 - 1960

Year	Number of Consumer Units (Millions)	Average (Mean) Personal Income per Consumer Unit				Average (Mean) Annual Earnings per Full-time Employee (current Dollars)
		Before Taxes		After Taxes		
		Current Dollars	1963 Dollars	Current Dollars	1963 Dollars	
1929	36.1	2,340	4,300	2,300	4,270	1,405
1947	44.7	4,130	5,520	3,720	4,980	2,589
1948	46.3	4,350	5,500	4,010	5,080	2,795
1949	47.8	4,170	5,810	3,880	4,920	2,851
1950	48.9	4,440	5,580	4,070	5,110	3,008
1951	49.5	4,900	5,780	4,420	5,210	3,231
1952	50.2	5,120	5,920	4,570	5,280	3,414
1953	50.5	5,390	6,170	4,810	5,500	3,587
1954	51.2	5,360	6,070	4,840	5,480	3,670
1955	52.2	5,640	6,360	5,090	5,740	3,847
1956	52.8	5,640	6,360	5,090	5,740	4,036
1957	53.6	6,240	6,720	5,610	6,040	4,205
1958	54.6	6,280	6,640	5,670	5,990	4,346
1959	55.3	6,620	6,910	5,940	6,210	4,558
1960	56.1	6,820	7,030	6,130	6,320	4,707

Re: Survey of Current Business: April 1964; p 4.

TABLE III: INCOME OF FAMILIES AND PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES -
NUMBER OF FAMILIES BBY FAMILY INCOME FROM 1947 TO 1964, IN CONSTANT
(1964) DOLLARS.



Re: Ferdinand Lundberg: The Rich and the Super-Rich; p 466.

TABLE IV: NATIONAL PERSONAL INCOME AND ITS DISPOSAL, 1940 - 1960.

Year	Personal Income (Gross) \$ bn.	Personal Taxes \$ bn.	Personal Income (Net) \$ bn.	Personal Consump- tion \$ bn.	Personal Savings \$ bn.	Personal Consumption (% net income) \$ bn.	Personal Saving (% net income) \$ bn.
1940	78.3	2.6	75.7	72.1	3.7	92.2	3.7
1941	95.3	3.3	92.0	82.3	9.8	89.5	10.5
1942	122.7	6.0	116.7	91.2	25.6	78.1	21.9
1944	165.9	18.9	147.0	111.6	35.4	75.9	24.1
1945	171.9	20.9	151.1	123.1	28.0	81.5	18.5
1946	176.9	18.8	158.1	147.8	10.3	93.5	6.5
1947	193.5	21.5	172.0	166.9	5.0	97.0	3.0
1948	211.9	21.1	190.8	178.8	12.0	93.7	6.3
1950	227.6	20.7	206.9	189.3	17.6	91.5	8.5
1953	288.7	35.9	252.8	233.3	19.6	92.3	7.7
1955	310.9	35.5	275.3	257.8	17.5	93.6	6.3
1957	351.8	43.1	308.7	288.3	20.4	93.4	6.6
1958	349.8	42.3	307.5	288.3	19.2	93.7	6.2
1960	410.0	50.9	350.0	328.3	21.7	93.8	6.2

Re: Lester V. Chandler: Inflation in the United States; pp 33, 35.
 Emma S. Woytinsky: Profile of the United States Economy; p 148
 Harold G. Vatter: The U.S. Economy in the 1950s; pp 93, 117.

TABLE V: CONSUMER PRICE INDEXES BY MAJOR GROUPS AND SUBGROUPS,
1940 - 1957. (1947 - 49 = 100)

Year	All Items	Cereals Bakery Products	Meats, Poultry Fish	Dairy Prod- ucts	Fruits, Veget- ables	Rent	Gas, Elec- tricity	House Furnish- ings
1940	59.9	58.6	41.2	52.6	47.3	86.9	103.9	53.0
1942	69.7	63.6	54.2	65.1	64.1	90.4	102.5	64.4
1943	74.0	65.1	57.6	69.9	82.7	90.3	101.9	66.2
1945	76.9	65.9	56.5	69.5	86.7	90.9	100.7	76.9
1946	83.4	75.6	69.4	85.7	89.3	91.4	97.9	83.9
1947	95.5	94.0	93.5	96.7	97.6	94.4	97.6	97.2
1948	102.8	103.4	106.1	106.3	100.5	100.7	100.0	103.2
1949	101.8	102.7	100.5	96.9	101.9	105.0	102.5	99.6
1951	111.1	114.0	117.2	107.0	106.7	113.1	103.1	111.2
1953	114.4	119.1	109.9	109.6	113.5	124.1	106.6	107.9
1955	114.5	123.9	101.6	105.9	113.5	130.3	110.7	104.1
1957	120.2	130.5	105.2	111.8	118.6	135.2	113.0	104.6

Re: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (A Statistical Abstract Summary): Consumer Price Indices, Series E 113.

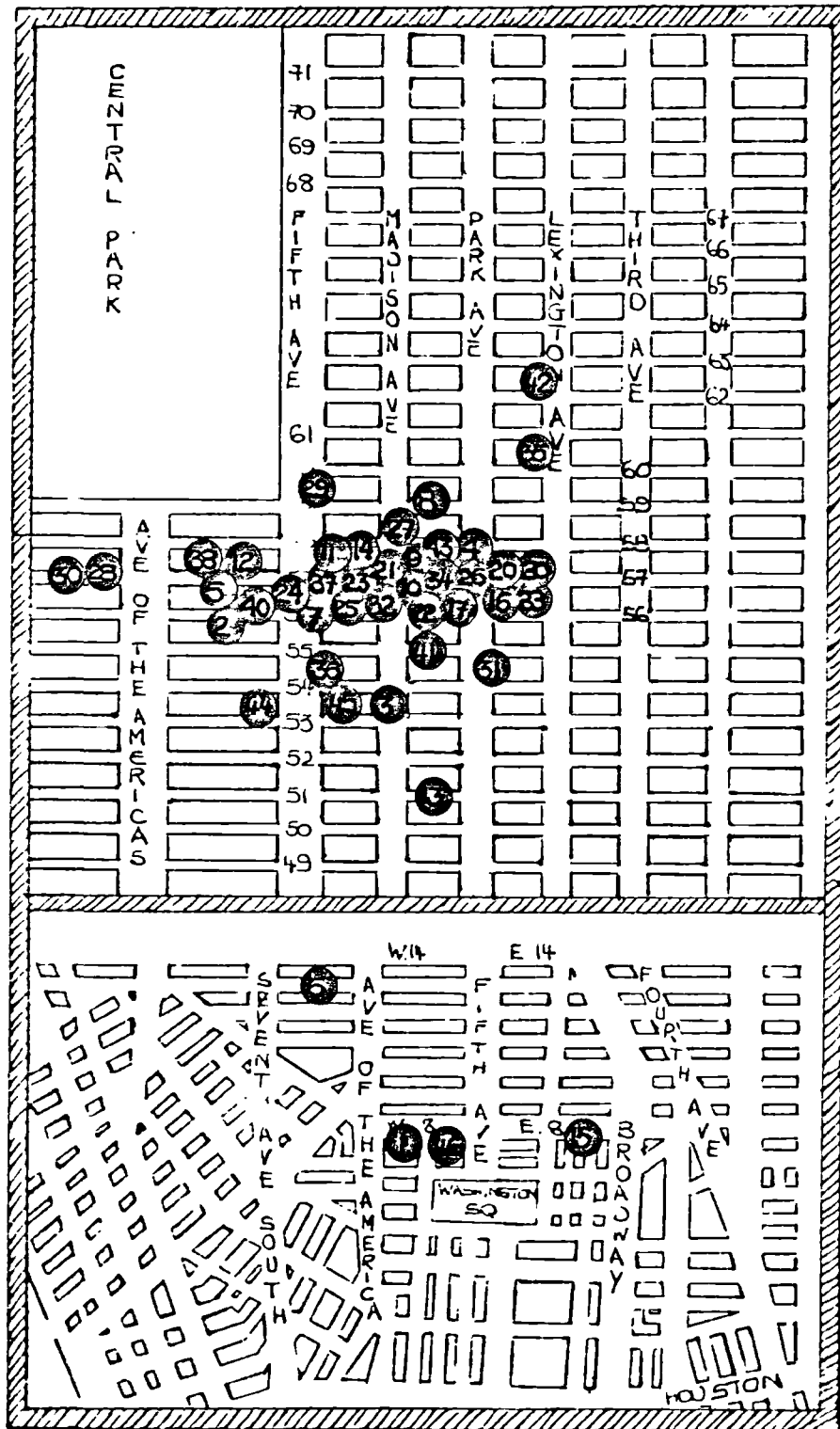
TABLE VI: RETAIL PRICES OF SELECTED FOODS IN U.S. CITIES: 1940 - 1957 (In cents per unit)

Year	Flour 5 lb.	Bread Lb.	Round Steak Lb.	Bacon Lb.	Butter Lb.	Eggs Doz.	Milk, Deli- vered Qt.	Oranges Doz.	Pota- toes 10 lb.	Coffee Lb.	Sugar 5 Lb.
1940	21.5	8.0	36.4	27.3	36.0	33.1	12.8	29.1	23.9	21.2	26.0
1942	26.4	8.7	43.5	39.4	47.3	48.4	15.0	31.0	34.2	28.3	34.1
1943	30.6	8.9	43.9	43.1	52.7	57.2	15.5	44.3	45.6	30.0	34.2
1945	32.1	8.8	40.6	41.1	50.7	58.1	15.6	48.5	49.3	30.5	33.4
1946	35.4	10.4	52.1	53.3	71.0	58.6	17.6	49.9	46.8	34.4	38.4
1947	48.2	12.5	75.6	77.7	80.5	69.6	19.6	43.4	50.3	46.9	48.6
1948	49.0	13.9	90.5	76.9	86.7	72.3	21.8	44.7	55.9	51.4	47.0
1949	47.9	14.0	85.3	66.5	72.5	69.6	21.1	51.8	54.6	55.4	47.6
1951	51.9	15.7	109.3	67.2	81.9	73.7	23.1	48.7	50.8	86.8	50.6
1953	52.3	16.4	91.5	78.5	79.0	69.8	23.4	49.0	53.8	89.2	52.8
1955	53.8	17.7	90.3	65.9	70.9	60.6	23.1	52.8	56.4	93.0	52.1
1957	54.6	18.8	93.6	73.8	74.3	57.3	25.0	57.9	57.1	101.7	55.2

Re: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957. (A Statistical Abstract Survey): Prices and Price Indices, Series E 161 - 176.

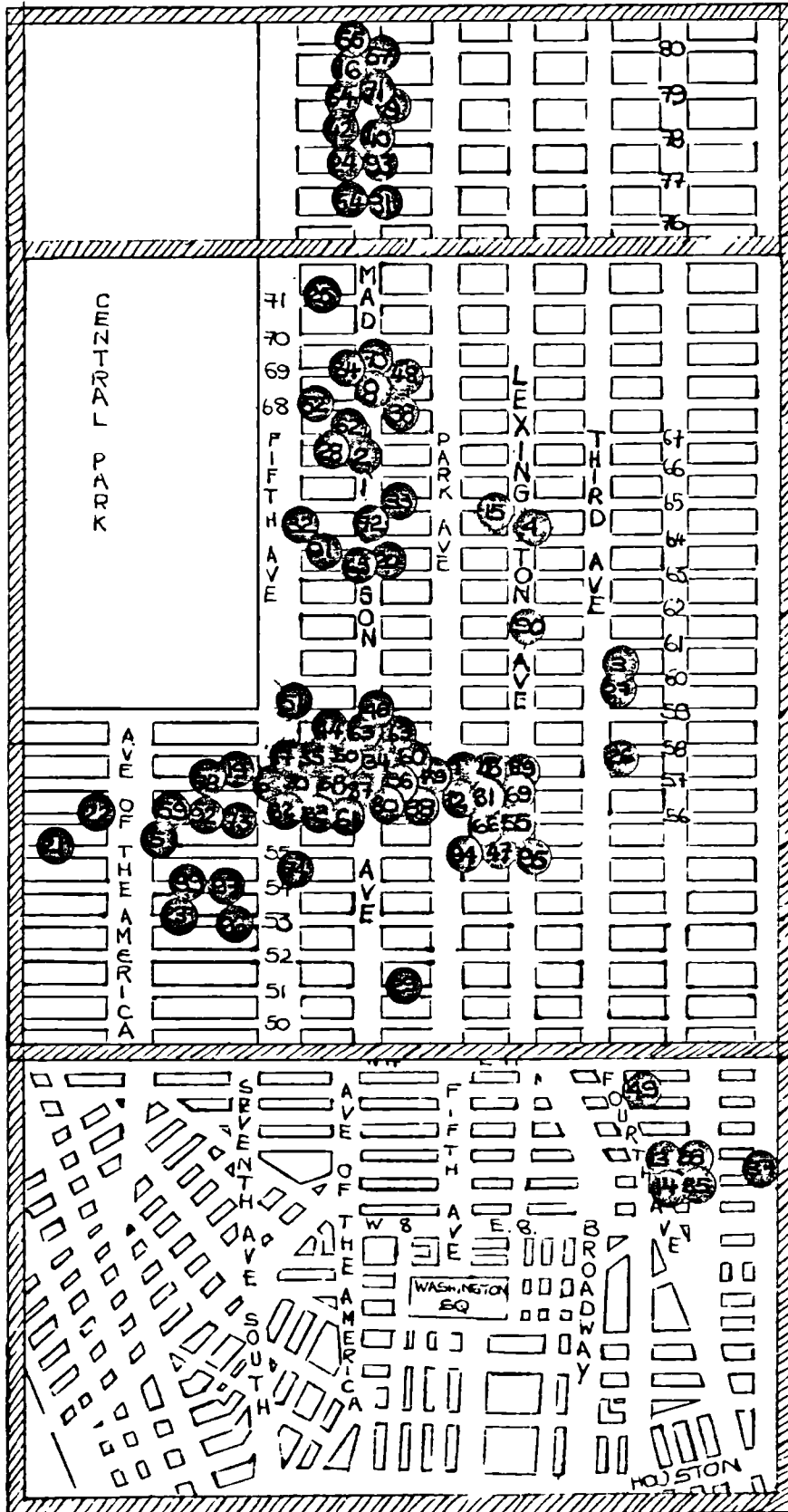
APPENDIX B

TABLE I: THE LOCATION OF GALLERIES IN NEW YORK -
UPTOWN AND DOWNTOWN - (1940 - 1941 SEASON)



1	A C A Gallery	52 West 8th Street
2	American British	44 West 56th Street
3	American Place	509 Madison Ave
4	Arden	460 Park Ave
5	Argent	42 West 57th Street
6	Artists	113 West 13th Street
7	Associated American	711 Fifth Ave
8	Babcock	38 East 58th Street
9	Bignou	32 East 57th Street
10	Buchholz	32 East 57th Street
11	Carstairs	11 East 57th Street
12	Contemporary Arts	38 West 57th Street
13	Downtown	43 East 51st Street
14	Durand-Ruel	12 East 57th Street
15	8th Street	39 East 8th Street
16	Ferrargil	63 East 57th Street
17	French Art	54 East 57th Street
18	Gimbel Bros	Broadway & 33rd
19	Grand Central	15 Vanderbilt Ave
20	Harriman	61 East 57th Street
21	Julien Levy	15 East 57th Street
22	Kleeman	32 East 57th Street
23	Knoedler	14 East 57th Street
24	Kraushaar	730 Fifth Ave
25	Macbeth	11 East 57th Street
26	Matisse	41 East 57th Street
27	Midtown	605 Madison Ave
28	Milch	108 West 57th Street
29	Montross	785 Fifth Ave
30	Morton	130 West 57th Street
31	Neumann	543 Madison Ave
32	Nierendorf	18 East 57th Street
33	Passedoit	121 East 57th Street
34	Perls	32 East 57th Street
35	Pinacotheca	777 Lexington Ave
36	Rehn	683 Fifth Ave
37	Sterner	9 East 57th Street
38	St Etienne	46 West 57th Street
39	Uptown	249 West End
40	Vendome	9 West 56th Street
41	Wakefield	64 East 55th Street
42	Weyhe	794 Lexington Ave
43	Willard	32 East 57th Street
44	Museum of Modern Art	11 West 53rd Street
45	Museum of Non-Objective Painting	12 East 54th Street
46	Whitney Museum of American Art	10 West 8th Street

TABLE II: THE LOCATION OF GALLERIES IN NEW YORK -
 UPTOWN AND DOWNTOWN - (1958 - 1959 SEASON)



1	A C A Gallery	63 East 57th Street
2	Alan	766 Madison Ave
3	Argent	236 East 60th Street
4	Artists	851 Lexington Ave
5	Arts	62 West 56th Street
6	Associated American Artists	711 Fifth Ave
7	Avant-Garde	166 Lexington Ave
8	Babcock	805 Madison Ave
9	Barone	1018 Madison Ave
10	Barzansky	1071 Madison Ave
11	Berryman	2852 Broadway
12	Borgenicht	65 East 57th Street
13	Brata	80 East 10th Street
14	Camino	92 East 10th Street
15	Caravan	132 East 65th Street
16	Carlebach	1040 Madison Ave
17	Carstairs	11 East 57th Street
18	Castelli	4 East 77th Street
19	Chalette	45 West 57th Street
20	Chase	31 East 64th Street
21	City Center	131 West 55th Street
22	Coeval	100 West 56th Street
23	Collectors	49 West 53rd Street
24	Contemporaries	992 Madison Ave
25	Contemporary Arts	19 East 71st Street
26	Crespi	232 East 58th Street
27	Davis	231 East 60th Street
28	De Nagy	24 East 67th Street
29	Downtwon	32 East 51st Street
30	Durlacher	11 East 57th Street
31	Eggleston	969 Madison Ave
32	Emmerich	17 East 64th Street
33	Este	32 East 65th Street
34	Feigl	601 Madison Ave
35	Findlay	11 East 57th Street
36	Fine Arts	41 East 57th Street
37	Fleischman	227 East 10th Street
38	French	978 Madison Ave
38	Fried	40 East 68th Street
39	Gallery G	59 West 54th Street
40	Graham	1014 Madison Ave
41	Grand Central	15 Vanderbilt Ave
42	Grand Central Moderns	1018 Madison Ave
43	Hansa	210 Central Park
44	Hartert	22 East 58th Street
45	Heller	63 East 57th Street
46	Herve	611 Madison Ave
47	Iolas	123 East 55th Street
48	Jackson	32 East 69th Street
49	James	70 East 12th Street
50	Janis	15 East 57th Street
51	Kennedy	785 Fifth Ave
52	Kleeman	11 East 68th Street
53	Knoedler	14 East 57th Street
54	Kootz	1018 Madison Ave
55	Kottler	108 East 57th Street
56	Krasner	1061 Madison Ave
57	Kraushaar	1055 Madison Ave
58	March	95 East 10th Street
59	Marino	46 West 56th Street

60 Matisse	41 East 57th Street
61 Midtown	17 East 57th Street
62 Milch	21 East 67th Street
63 New	601 Madison Ave
64 Niveau	962 Madison Ave
65 Nordness	700 Madison Ave
66 Paris	126 East 56th Street
67 Parma	1111 Lexington Ave
68 Parsons	15 East 57th Street
69 Passedoit	121 East 57th Street
70 Peridot	820 Madison Ave
71 Perls	1016 Madison Ave
72 Petite	718 Madison Ave
73 Poindexter	21 West 56th Street
74 Rehn	683 Fifth Ave
75 Roko	925 Madison Ave
76 Rosenberg	20 East 79th Street
77 Saidenberg	10 East 77th Street
78 St Etienne	46 West 57th Street
79 Salpeter	42 East 57th Street
80 B Schaefer	32 East 57th Street
81 Schoneman	63 East 57th Street
82 J Seligman	5 East 57th Street
83 Stable	924 Seventh Ave
84 Stuttman	831 Madison Ave
85 Tanager	90 East 10th Street
86 Terrain	20 West 16th Street
87 Van Diemen-Lilienfeld	21 East 57th Street
88 Viviano	42 East 57th Street
89 M Walker	117 East 57th Street
90 Weyhe	794 Lexington Ave
91 Wildenstein	19 East 64th Street
92 Willard	23 West 56th Street
93 World House	987 Madison Ave
94 Zabriskie	123 East 55th Street
95 Zodiac	123 East 55th Street
96 Museum of Modern Art	11 West 53rd St
97 Whitney Museum of American Art	22 West 54th Street

TABLE III: ACTUAL COST OF CONTRIBUTION OF MONIES TO A CHARITABLE INSTITUTION.

If Net Income is less than:	The Tax saved per \$ by taking a deduction for charitable contribution is:	Leaving Net Cost after Tax per \$ contributed of:
\$	\$	\$
2,000	0.19	0.81
4,000	.21	.79
6,000	.25	.75
8,000	.29	.71
10,000	.32	.68
12,000	.36	.64
14,000	.41	.59
16,000	.45	.55
18,000	.48	.52
20,000	.50	.50
22,000	.53	.47
26,000	.56	.44
32,000	.59	.41
38,000	.62	.38
44,000	.66	.34
50,000	.68	.32
60,000	.71	.29
70,000	.74	.26
80,000	.77	.23
90,000	.80	.20
100,000	.83	.17
150,000	.85	.15
200,000	.86	.14

TABLE IV: COST OF DONATION OF APPRECIATED ASSETS TO A CHARITABLE INSTITUTION.

If Net Income less Personal Exemption is:	If a Fully Deductible Donation is made of Apppreciated Assets with a present value of \$1,000 the actual cost of the Donation is:				
	(if original cost was):				
	\$100	\$200	\$500	\$700	\$900
\$ 2,000 - 4,000	697	739	739	760	781
6,000 - 8,000	587	601	644	672	701
8,000 - 10,000	532	548	596	629	661
10,000 - 12,000	477	495	549	585	621
12,000 - 14,000	408	428	489	530	571
14,000 - 16,000	353	375	442	487	531
16,000 - 18,000	311	335	406	454	501
18,000 - 20,000	272	297	372	422	472
20,000 - 22,000	243	268	343	393	443
22,000 - 26,000	215	240	315	365	415
26,000 - 32,000	186	211	286	336	386
32,000 - 38,000	158	183	258	308	358
38,000 - 44,000	120	145	220	270	320
44,000 - 50,000	91	116	191	241	291
50,000 - 60,000	63	88	163	213	263
70,000 - 80,000	06	31	106	156	206
80,000 - 90,000	23	02	77	127	177
90,000 - 100,000	51	26	49	99	149
100,000 - 150,000	70	45	30	80	130
150,000 - 200,000	80	55	20	70	120
200,000 -	89	64	11	61	111

Note: Figures in bold face indicate an actual saving, because tax saved on elimination of profit on conversion exceeds the actual cost of contribution.

Re: Ferdinand Lundberg: The Rich and the Super-Rich"; pp 685 - 686

APPENDIX C: IMPORTANT AUCTION SALES INVOLVING A SIGNIFICANT PROPORTION OF MODERN PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURE HELD AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, NEW YORK FROM THE 1939/40 TO 1959/60 SEASONS, LISTING WORKS IN EACH SALE IN ORDER OF PRICE REALISED.

All works listed in the following sales are o/c (oils on canvas) unless otherwise specified. Only paintings and sculptures, or equivalent-quality works on paper are listed.

Abbreviations of Medium used in Works Sold at Auction

o/w	oil on wood (panel or board)
o/p	oil on paper
w/c	watercolour
g	gouache
p	pastel
t	tempera

SALE A: THE COLLECTION OF MRS CORNELIUS J SULLIVAN, PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, NEW YORK, 6 & 7 DECEMBER 1939.[American Art Annual, 19 ; p 682 - 685.]

No*	Artist	Title	Price
181	Cézanne, Paul:	Mme Cézanne (22 1/2 x 18 1/2)	\$27,000.
56	Gogh, Vincent van:	Portrait of Mlle Ravoux (19 3/4 x 19 3/4)	\$19,000.
61	Toulouse-Lautrec, H:	Femme dans le Jardin de M. Forest (o/w, 1889, 24 1/2 x 21 1/2)	\$ 5,700.
185	Chardin, Jean B S:	Still Life (27 x 23)	\$ 4,500.
54	Derain, André:	The Window on the Park (51 x 35)	\$ 3,500.
57	Redon, Odilon:	Poppies and Daisies (25 1/2 x 20)	\$ 3,000.
55	Gauguin, Paul:	Autour des Huttes: Martinique (35 x 21 1/2)	\$ 2,700.
95	Davies, Arthur B:	Bud to Blossom (17 1/4 x 22)	\$ 2,600.
60	Rouault, Georges:	The Clown (o/w, 22 1/2 x 20)	\$ 2,500.
180	Redon, Odilon:	Flowers (25 3/4 x 19 3/4)	\$ 2,200.
167	Toulouse-Lautrec, H:	Head of a Woman (o/w, 14 x 9 1/2)	\$ 2,100.
59	Soutine, Chaim:	Rue a Cagnes (21 3/4 x 18 1/4)	\$ 1,700.
156	Cézanne, Paul:	Geraniums (w/c, 13 1/2 x 9 1/2)	\$ 1,625.
182	Braque, Georges	Still Life: Guitar (25 1/2 x 30)	\$ 1,600.
58	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Lunia Czechowska (36 1/4 x 23 1/2)	\$ 1,600.
142	Cézanne, Paul:	Pins à Bibemus (w/c, 17 1/2 x 11 1/2)	\$ 1,500.
183	Toulouse-Lautrec, H:	Miss Dolly, The English Girl at the "Star" at Le Havre (o/w, 19 1/2 x 15 3/4)	\$ 1,500.
143	Picasso, Pablo:	Study for La Toilette (w/c, 10 x 6 1/2)	\$ 1,350.
196	Homer, Winslow:	The New Novel (w/c, 8 3/4 x 19 3/4)	\$ 1,050.
195	Davies, Arthur B:	Balance of the Golden Scales (30 x 18)	\$ 1,000.
176	Prendergast, Maurice:	The Picnic (37 x 57)	\$ 900.
51	Rouault, Georges:	La Famille (w/c, 21 x 14 1/4)	\$ 900.
184	Pissarro, Camille:	The Market Place (g & w/c, 24 x 19)	\$ 850.
168	Bonnard, Pierre:	Paysage de Printemps (19 1/4 x 29)	\$ 800.
166	Prendergast, Maurice:	Upon the Shore (22 x 34)	\$ 800.

151	Davies, Arthur B:	Murmuring Voices (6 1/2 x 15)	\$ 220.
149	Dufy, Raoul:	Still Life (w/c & g, 20 1/4 x 26 1/4)	\$ 220.
43	Daubigny, Charles F:	The Orchard (o/w, 8 1/2 x 14 3/4)	\$ 200.
146	Davies, Arthur B:	Figure Composition (t/w, 15 x 7)	\$ 200.
160	Dufy, Raoul:	Sur la Plage (w/c, 19 3/4 x 24)	\$ 200.
46	Jacob, Max:	Le Chatelet (g, 13 1/2 x 18 1/2)	\$ 200.
188	Rothwell, Richard:	Portrait of a Girl in White (28 1/2 x 23)	\$ 200.

SALE B: MODERN FRENCH PAINTINGS COLLECTED BY THE LATE JEROME
STONEBOROUGH, PARKE-BERNEIT GALLERIES, NEW YORK, 17 OCTOBER 1940.
[American Art Annual, 1939 - 194 ; p 708 - 709.]

No*	Artist	Title	Price
71	Matisse, Henri:	Nature Morte (71 1/2 x 87)	\$10,400.
69	Gauguin, Paul:	Le Violoncelliste (Portrait of M F Schneklud) (36 1/2 x 29)	\$ 4,100.
72	Picasso, Pablo:	Le Chein (60 1/2 x 31)	\$ 3,800.
75	Puvis de Chavannes, P:	L'Enfant Prodigue (42 x 58)	\$ 3,300.
73	Gauguin, Paul:	Le Maison du Pendu (20 x 24)	\$ 3,200.
65	Pissarro, Camille:	Ferme près Pontoise (22 x 18 1/2)	\$ 1,700.
81	Monet, Claude:	Nympheas (26 x 40 1/2)	\$ 1,650.
77	Picasso, Pablo:	Le Violon (24 x 20)	\$ 1,400.
15	Manet, Edouard:	L'Homme au Chapeau Haut de Forme (Study for "Le Buveur") (w/c, 11 1/2 x 7 1/2)	\$ 1,300.
47	Millet, Jean F:	La Baigneuse (o/w, 8 1/2 x 6 1/4)	\$ 1,000.
57	Utrillo, Maurice:	Rue del 'Abreuvoir, Montmartre (o/w, 20 x 26)	\$ 950.
68		A la Tourelle, Rue de Mt Cenis (o/w, 23 1/2 x 32 1/2)	\$ 900.
64	Bonnard, Pierre:	Jeune Fille à la Tasse (17 x 12 1/2)	\$ 800.
63	Chagall, Marc:	Fleurs et Paysage (39 1/2 x 29)	\$ 650.
79	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Femme au Collier (25 3/4 x 19 3/4)	\$ 400.

SALE C: FRANK CROWNINSHIELD COLLECTION, PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 20 - 21 OCTOBER, 1943.[Art Prices Current, 1943 - 44, items no 511 - 1458, p A12 - A32.]

Paintings and watercolours only (oil unless otherwise stipulated) - highest price first.

No*	Artist	Title	Price
545	De Segonzac, André D:	L'Église et la Marne (1927, 31 3/4 x 39 1/2)	\$ 7,250.
546	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Mme Hebuterne (28 1/2 x 23)	\$ 4,800.
600	Picasso, Pablo:	Portrait of Georges Braque (1909, 24 1/4 x 20)	\$ 4,800.
547	Bonnard, Pierre:	The Breakfast Room (1920 - 25, 26 x 42 1/2)	\$ 4,100.
548	De Segonzac, André D:	Gulf at St Tropez (1927, 25 3/4 x 31 3/4)	\$ 4,000.
542		Garden Table (14 3/4 x 31 3/4)	\$ 3,300.
599	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Femme en Noir (32 x 21 1/4)	\$ 2,900.
595	De Segonzac, André D:	Still Life in a Garden (1927, 21 3/4 x 32)	\$ 2,600.
544	Matisse, Henri:	Figure in Interior (1920, 13 1/4 x 22)	\$ 2,400.
597	Pascin, Jules:	Girl in Green and Rose (36 1/4 x 28 3/4)	\$ 2,100.
601	Bonnard, Pierre:	The Yellow Screen (1917, 3 1/2 x 27 1/2)	\$ 2,000.
606	De Segonzac, André D:	Bridge and Roadside (25 3/4 x 31 3/4)	\$ 1,900.
583		Road by the River (w/c, 22 x 29 3/4)	\$ 1,600.
602		Green Hat and Parasol (14 x 32)	\$ 1,600.
607	Laurencin, Marie:	Figures in a Wood (39 1/4 x 26 1/4)	\$ 1,600.
593	De Segonzac, André D:	Edge of the Forest (21 1/2 x 18 1/4)	\$ 1,500.
591		Road Under the Trees (w/c, 25 1/2 x 19 3/4)	\$ 1,250.
596	Chagall, Marc:	Fantasy in Blue (w/c & g, 19 3/4 x 25 3/4)	\$ 1,200.
598	Laurencin, Marie:	Princess with Cats (1920, 32 x 19 1/4)	\$ 1,200.
553	John, Augustus:	The Gypsies (w/c & g, 19 1/2 x 15 1/4)	\$ 1,000.
531	De Segonzac, André D:	Bridge on the Marne (w/c, 16 1/2 x 24 1/2)	\$ 950.
609		Blue Lamp Shade (18 1/2 x 22)	-\$ 950.
537	Laurencin, Marie:	Portrait of the Artist (1928, 22 x 18 1/2)	\$ 950.
540	De Segonzac, André D:	Landscape in Provence (w/c, 20 3/4 x 29 1/2)	\$ 850.
539	Chagall, Marc:	Amour et Fleurs (w/c & g, 26 x 20 1/2)	\$ 850.
563	Speicher, Eugene:	Chrysanthemums	\$ 800.

610 Derain, André:	(20 x 16 1/4) Nude in a Rocky Landscape	\$ 775.
562 Corot, Jean B C:	(31 1/4 x 24 3/4) Castel Saint-Ella	\$ 750.
582 De Segonzac, André D:	(1826 - 27, o/w, 9 1/2 x 14 1/4) Basket of Fruit	\$ 700.
558 Lawson, Ernest:	(w/c, 19 x 24 1/2) Queensborough Bridge	\$ 675.
543 Laurencin, Marie:	(1918, 20 x 24) Medusa	\$ 625.
538 Chagall, Marc:	(1927, 18 1/4 x 15 1/4) Interior with Flowers	\$ 550.
551 De Segonzac, André D:	(1940, w/c & g, 23 1/2 x 17 1/2) Le Nu à l'Ombrelle	\$ 550.
615 Speicher, Eugene:	(15 x 21 1/2) Gladioli	\$ 550.
557 Kisling, Moise:	(22 1/4 x 19 1/4) Reclining Nude	\$ 525.
536 Derain, André:	(32 x 53 3/4) Head of Sleeping Woman	\$ 500.
603	(10 x 12) Woman in Brown	\$ 500.
587 Chagall, Marc:	(13 x 11) Flowers	\$ 450.
592	(w/c & g, 17 3/4 x 11 3/4) Les Amoureux	\$ 450.
552 Pascin, Jules:	(w/c & g, 23 x 17 1/2) Fleurs Etranges	\$ 425.
578 Demuth, Charles:	(22 x 13 1/2) Poppies	\$ 425.
604 De Segonzac, André D:	(w/c, 20 x 14) Seated Model	\$ 400.
561	(25 1/2 x 21 1/2) Autumn Landscape	\$ 375.
560 Davies, Arthur B:	(15 1/4 x 22) Thetis in a Vale	\$ 375.
580 Covarrubias, Miguel:	(17 x 22) Inhabitants of Tunis	\$ 360.
519 Demuth, Charles:	(set of 5 w/c, 16 1/2 x 11 each) Zinnias	\$ 350.
559 Hopper, Edward:	(w/c, 12 1/4 x 18) Deck of Trawler	\$ 350.
554 Speicher, Eugene:	(w/c, 14 x 20) Tulips and Snapdragons	\$ 350.
619 Covarrubias, Miguel:	(21 1/2 x 17 1/2) Balinese Girl with Turban	\$ 320.
612 Carroll, John:	(15 x 10) Siamese Cat	\$ 325.
572 Covarrubias, Miguel:	(44 1/4 x 34 1/4) Impossible Interviews: Alexander Woolcott and Dr Samuel Johnson.	\$ 300.
541 Chagall, Marc:	(w/c & g, 10 3/4 x 9 3/4) Spring Flowers	\$ 275.
528 Gromaire, Marcel:	(w/c, 18 x 11 1/4) Le Bar de Matelots	\$ 260.
521 Covarrubias, Miguel:	(1927, 21 x 18 1/4) Balinese Girl	\$ 250.
613 Charlot, Jean:	(w/c & g, 14 1/2 x 10 1/2) The Malinches	\$ 250.
	(1930, 39 x 58)	

617	Sterne, Maurice:	Girl of Bali (17 1/2 x 13 1/4)	\$ 250.
575	Covarrubias, Miguel:	On the Beach at Bali (11 1/2 x 15 1/2)	\$ 230.
589	Gromaire, Marcel:	Water Carrier (1928, 16 1/4 x 11)	\$ 210.
616	O'Keefe, Georgia:	Pond Lilies (20 x 16 3/4)	\$ 210.
611	Dasburg, Andrew:	Still Life with Tulips (26 x 24 3/4)	\$ 150.
529	Dufy, Raoul:	Still Life: Strawberries in a Basket (12 1/2 x 15 1/2)	\$ 150.
605	Gromaire, Marcel:	Coffee Grinder (w/c, 16 1/2 x 12 3/4)	\$ 150.
517	Covarrubias, Miguel:	La Rhumba (w/c & g, 14 x 18 3/4)	\$ 140.
590	Ganso, Emil:	Night in Marseilles (w/c & g, 18 1/4 x 14 1/2)	\$ 140.
549	Gromaire, Marcel:	La Cuisinière (w/c, 16 1/2 x 12 3/4)	\$ 125.
620	Grosz, George:	Roast Pig (25 x 18 1/4)	\$ 110.
520	Sterne, Maurice:	Mother and Child (1913, w/c & g, 13 3/4 x 17 3/4)	\$ 110.
518	Covarrubias, Miguel:	Impossible Interviews: Margaret Sanger and Mrs Dionne. (w/c & g, 11 1/2 x 11)	\$ 100.
556	Graves, Morris:	Young Woodpeckers (w/c & g, 29 1/2 x 21 1/2)	\$ 100.
574		Bird of the Inner Eye (g, 20 1/2 x 30 1/4)	\$ 100.
516	Ganso, Emil:	Harbour in France (1929, g, 12 3/4 x 16 3/4)	\$ 90.

[* Numbers as listed in Art Prices Current.]

SALE D: THE MAURICE J SPEISER COLLECTION, SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALERIES, NEW YORK, 26 - 27 JANUARY 1944. [Art Prices Current, 1943 - 44; p A33 - A34.]

No*	Artist	Title	Price
1524	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Garçon à la Veste Bleue (36 1/2 x 24)	\$ 4,900.
1511	Soutine, Chaim:	Still Life (35 x 23 1/2)	\$ 2,050.
1557	Utrillo, Maurice:	Église Ste Marguerite (o/w, 26 3/4 x 20 1/4)	\$ 2,000.
1516	Rouault, Georges:	Night Scene (1925, 23 1/4 x 18 1/2)	\$ 1,900.
1527	Utrillo, Maurice:	Sacre Coeur, Montmartre (25 1/2 x 21 3/4)	\$ 1,900.
1522	Matisse, Henri:	Nu couché (15 x 24)	\$ 1,600.
1523	Picasso, Pablo:	Harlequin (w/c & g, 30 x 22 1/2)	\$ 1,600.
1517	Rouault, Georges:	Head of Woman (17 3/4 x 11 1/4)	\$ 1,400.
1505	Derain, André:	Landscape (21 1/4 x 25 1/2)	\$ 1,000.
1560	Gris, Juan:	Still Life (39 x 25 1/2)	\$ 1,000.
1530	Segonzac, André D de:	Two Figures (19 3/4 x 28 3/4)	\$ 900.
1555	Laurencin, Marie:	Leda and the Swan (1923, 25 1/2 x 32)	\$ 875.
1534	Kandinsky, Wassily:	White Centre (47 x 54)	\$ 850.
1553	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Portrait of Girl (o/w, 14 x 10 1/4)	\$ 825.
1554	Picasso, Pablo:	Old Arab (12 3/4 x 7 1/4)	\$ 825.
1562	Benton, Thomas H:	Landscape (30 x 25)	\$ 800.
1558	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Portrait of Woman (28 1/2 x 21)	\$ 800.
1525	Valadon, Suzanne:	Flowers (1924, 25 1/2 x 19 1/4)	\$ 775.
1514	Utrillo, Maurice:	Moulin de la Galette (1922, o/w, 7 x 10 1/2)	\$ 725.
1504	Dufy, Raoul:	Vence (15 x 18)	\$ 750.
1528	Pascin, Jules:	The Blue Slippers (25 3/4 x 21 3/4)	\$ 750.
1512	Utrillo, Maurice:	Les Fortifs (1922. o/w, 13 x 20)	\$ 700.
1549	Matisse, Henri:	Le Ruisseau (15 x 18)	\$ 650.
1520	Pascin, Jules:	Girl in Black (24 x 19 1/2)	\$ 650.
1529	Dufresne, Charles G:	Two Zebras (38 x 29 1/2)	\$ 600.
1510	Chagall, Marc:	Sailor on Leave (w/c, 25 1/2 x 19 1/4)	\$ 575.
1538	Marin, John:	Landscape	\$ 550.

1537 Marin, John:	(1914, w/c, 16 x 13 1/4) Landscape	\$ 525.
1564 Carles, Arthur B:	(1913, w/c, 14 x 16 1/4) Flowers	\$ 500.
1503 Chirico, Giorgio de:	(39 1/2 x 33 1/2) Combat	\$ 500.
1521 Derain, André:	(18 x 15) Head of Woman	\$ 500.
1565 Kisling, Moise:	(10 x 7 1/4) Jeune Fille Provencale	\$ 500.
1559 Picasso, Pablo:	(1924, 36 x 25 1/2) Tree Forms	\$ 500.
1536 Annenkoff, Georges:	(w/c, 18 3/4 x 24 1/2) Une Rue	\$ 475.
1569 Kisling, Moise:	(36 x 29) Orchard	\$ 475.
1551 Derain, André:	(35 x 45 1/2) Evening Landscape	\$ 450.
1568 Annenkoff, Georges:	(o/w, 10 1/4 x 22) Choufleur	\$ 425.
1495 Bombois, Camille:	(43 1/2 x 39 1/2) In the Garden	\$ 425.
1539 Demuth, Charles:	(16 1/4 x 10 1/2) Acrobats	\$ 425.
1563 Carroll, John:	(1916, w/c, 7 3/4 x 9 3/4) Idol	\$ 400.
1552 Chirico, Giorgio de:	(40 x 32 1/2) Composition: Armour	\$ 400.
1561 Hartley, Marsden:	(19 x 44) Still Life	\$ 400.
1556 Pascin, Jules:	(20 x 20) Reclining Figure	\$ 400.
1515 Vlaminck, Maurice de:	(28 1/2 x 36) Maisons à Bougival	\$ 400.
1519 Friesz, E Othon:	(13 x 16 1/2) Landscape	\$ 380.
1543 Pascin, Jules:	(1924, 28 1/2 x 23 3/4) L'Enlèvement d'Europe	\$ 375.
1508 Tchelitchew, Pavel:	(w/c, 18 x 22 1/4) Clown	\$ 350.
1575 Kisling, Moise:	(1930, g, 16 x 31 1/4) Milking the Goat	\$ 325.
1540 Demuth, Charles:	(39 x 32) Vaudeville	\$ 300.
1526 Kisling, Moise:	(w/c, 10 3/4 x 8 1/4) Still Life	\$ 300.
1578 Levy, Rudolf:	(32 x 29 1/2) Flowers	\$ 300.
1548 Valadon, Suzanne:	(31 x 24) Spring Landscape	\$ 300.
1576 Berard, Christian:	(1921, o/w, 12 3/4 x 16 1/4) Reclining Head	\$ 280.
1518 Carroll, John:	(1921, 13 x 18) Head of Girl	\$ 275.
1566 Krogh, Per L:	(20 x 16) The Dancer	\$ 275.
1547 Bombois, Camille:	(1925, 36 x 23 3/4) The River	\$ 250.
1506 Friesz, E Othon:	(9 3/4 x 13) Landscape	\$ 250.

1545 Derain, André:	(15 x 18) Arbres	\$ 240.
1546 Segonzac, André D de:	(13 3/4 x 10 1/2) Landscape	\$ 225.
1577 Gimmi, Willy:	(o/w, 9 3/4 x 13) Nude	\$ 210.
1579 Rimbert, R:	(1922, 19 3/4 x 24) L'Eglise de Campagne	\$ 210.
1550 Vlaminck, Maurice de:	(32 x 23 1/2) Landscape	\$ 210.
1572 Dongen, Kees van:	(w/c, 17 1/2 x 21) Figure	\$ 200.
1500 Grosz, George:	(25 1/2 x 21 1/4) Morning Toilet	\$ 200.
1507 Zadkine, Ossip:	(w/c, 25 1/2 x 16 1/2) Gourmet	\$ 200.
1498 Jacob, Max:	(g & w/c, 30 x 21 1/2) Flowers	\$ 190.
1574 Perdriat, Helene M M:	(w/c & g, 18 1/2 x 5 1/4) Jacqueline	\$ 190.
1573 Zadkine, Ossip:	(29 1/2 x 32) Woman at Window	\$ 185.
1502 Berard, Christion:	(1928, g, 24 1/4 x 17) Seated Figure	\$ 180.
1571 Dufresne, Charles G:	(1928, 18 1/4 x 12 3/4) Fête Champetre	\$ 180.
1509 Floch, Joseph:	(15 x 21 1/4) Portrait of Boy	\$ 175.
1568 Nash, Paul:	(19 1/2 x 18 1/4) Still Life: Salome	\$ 175.
1533 Gimmi, Willy:	(30 x 20) Tree Nudes	\$ 160.
1532 Kisling, Moise:	(1923, 36 1/4 x 28 3/4) Nu	\$ 160.
1581 Lanskoy, Andre:	(1917, 18 1/4 x 11 3/4) Still Life	\$ 160.
1592 Thomas, Andre:	(23 1/2 x 32) Still Life	\$ 160.
1490 Laurencin, Marie:	(13 x 16) Ludmilla	\$ 155.
1541 Grosz, George:	(o/w, 7 x 5 1/2) Delicatessen Shop Window	\$ 140.
1580 Kikoine, Michel:	(1929, w/c, 22 x 17 1/2) Landscape	\$ 140.
1531 Leonid, B:	21 1/2 x 25 1/2 Landscape with Figures	\$ 140.
1570 Friesz, E Othon:	(26 x 18 1/4) Paysage	\$ 120.
1535 Menkes, Zugmunt:	(w/c, 24 3/4 x 18 1/4) Still Life: Flowers and Fruit	\$ 120.
1544 Kandinsky, Wassily:	(21 3/4 x 18 1/2) Profile Head	\$ 110.
1501 Biddle, George:	(1915, 12 3/4 x 8 1/2) Flower Market: Tehautepec	\$ 100.
1542 Sterne, Maurice	(w/c, 19 x 14 3/4) Head of Girl	\$ 100.
	(g, 12 x 8 1/4)	

SALE E: STANLEY N BARBEE COLLECTION, SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, NEW YORK, 20 APRIL 1944. [Art Prices Current, 1943 - 1944, p A62 - A63.]

No* Artist	Title	Price
2898 Degas, H G Edgar:	Trois Danseuses (pastel, 27 3/4 x 22 3/4)	\$ 9,500.
2899 Manet, Edouard:	Le Clairon (1882, 39 3/4 x 32)	\$ 8,000.
2888 Renoir, P Auguste:	Femme Assise (1889, 15 x 11 1/2)	\$ 8,000.
2887 Seurat, Georges P:	L'Île de la Grande Jatte (o/w, 6 x 9 3/4)	\$ 6,400.
2891 Daumier, Honore:	Charles Debraun (1860 - 63, 13 1/2 x 9 1/4)	\$ 6,000.
2896 Manet, Edouard:	La Chanteuse de Cafe Concert (1876 - 78, 32 x 25 3/4)	\$ 6,000.
2885 Daumier, Honore:	Don Quichote et Sancho Pansa (10 x 8)	\$ 5,500.
2894 Vuillard, Edouard:	Intimacy (1900 - 25, 25 x 24 1/2)	\$ 4,900.
2892 Renoir, Pierre A:	Apricots et Figs (1889 - 90, 12 3/4 x 16 1/4)	\$ 4,250.
2893 Sisley, Alfred:	Junction of the Loing and the Seine (1875, 19 3/4 x 26)	\$ 4,100.
2895 Degas, H G Edgar:	Femme à sa Toilette (pastel, 32 3/4 x 24 1/2)	\$ 4,000.
2879 Gauguin, Paul:	Tahiti (1891, 15 x 11 1/4)	\$ 3,800.
2884 Rouault, Georges:	Fille de Cirque (1937, 23 1/4 x 15 1/4)	\$ 3,700.
2900 Boudin, Eugene L:	Sortie du Port du Havre (1883, 47 x 64 1/2)	\$ 3,600.
2890 Braque, Georges:	Nature Morte (1925, o/w, 18 1/4 x 27)	\$ 3,200.
2904 Austin, Darrel:	The Tigress (1942, 30 x 36)	\$ 3,000.
2880 Cézanne, Paul:	Satyres et Nymphes (1864 - 68, 9 1/2 x 12)	\$ 2,250
2886 Toulouse-Lautrec, H:	Domestique et lad Promenant des Chevaux (1880, 12 x 19 3/4)	\$ 2,100.
2883 Greuze, Jean B:	L'Innocence (15, 3/4 x 12 1/4)	\$ 1,800.
2889 Dufy, Raoul:	Fenêtre Ouverte (1938, 14 3/4 x 18 1/4)	\$ 1,700.
2902 Hartley, Marsden:	Sea Window (o/w, 28 x 22)	\$ 1,500.
2901 Van Dongen, Kees:	Lilacs (1937, 51 1/2 x 38 1/2)	\$ 1,150.
2880 Cézanne, Paul:	Pont ou Aqueduc (1888 - 94, w/c, 12 1/2 x 18 1/2)	\$ 1,100.
2908 Sloan, John:	Roof Gossips: Greenwich Village (1913, 20 x 24)	\$ 925.
2905 Schreiber, Georges:	Going Home (1939, 28 x 36)	\$ 850.
2874 Dufy, Raoul	Ascot (19 1/4 x 24 1/4)	\$ 800.

2878 Lieberman, Max:	Picnic in the Woods (1920, 19 1/2 x 14)	\$ 800.
2876 Dufy, Raoul:	Régate: Le Bassin à Deauville (1929, 15 x 18 1/4)	\$ 750.
2877 Daubigny, Karl:	Beach at Trouville (13 1/2 x 22 3/4)	\$ 750.
2907 Luks, George B:	Flower Venders (16 x 20)	\$ 750.
2910 Soyer, Raphael:	In the Studio (36 1/4 x 22)	\$ 750.
2909 Kisling, Moise:	Girl with Braids (16 1/4 x 13)	\$ 500.
2906 Eilshemius, Louis:	Green Valley (1905, o/w, 13 1/2 x 18 1/2)	\$ 350.
2903 Jones, Joe:	Water Hole (1939, 26 1/2 x 36)	\$ 300.
2872 Fiene, Ernest	Early Summer (24 x 20)	\$ 275.
2871 Levi, Julian	Thanksgiving Day (1938, 14 x 20)	\$ 200.

[* Numbers as listed in Art Prices Current: 1943 - 44; p A62 - A63.]

SALE F: PROPERTY OF THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART AND TRUSTEES (property of the latter marked by "), PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 11 APRIL 1944.

No*	Artist	Title	Price
3177	Corot, J B Camille:	La Grande Metaire (1860 - 65, 21 3/4 x 32)	\$20,000.
3178	Cézanne, Paul:	Mme Cézanne (1885 - 7, 18 1/4 x 15)	\$16,000.
3188	Picasso, Pablo:	La Statuaire (1925, 51 1/2 x 38 1/4)	\$ 5,600.
3179	Matisse, Henri:	Girl in Green (1921, 25 1/2 x 21 1/2)	\$ 5,400.
3176	Cézanne, Paul:	The Water Can (1880 - 2, 10 1/2 x 13 3/4)	\$ 5,300.
3186	Matisse, Henri:	Nu de Dos (1903, 37 3/4 x 31 1/2)	\$ 4,600.
3182	Cézanne, Paul:	The Road (1871 -2, 23 1/2 x 28 1/4)	\$ 4,200.
3174	Cézanne, Paul:	Still Life: Pears and Knife (c 1878, 8 1/4 x 12)	\$ 4,100.
3185	Picasso, Pablo:	Guitar and Fruit (1927, 51 1/2 x 38 1/2)	\$ 3,600.
3181	Derain, André:	Guitar Player (1928, 32 1/2 x 38 1/4)	\$ 2,600.
3187	Modigliani, Amedeo:	La Robe Noir (1917, 36 1/2 x 24)	\$ 1,600.
3162	Cézanne, Paul:	Provencal House and Trees (1890, w/c, 12 1/2 x 19 1/4)	\$ 1,550.
3148		House and Barrier (w/c, 7 1/2 x 4 3/4)	\$ 1,500.
3166		Mont Ste Victoire (1900, w/c, 11 3/4 x 18 3/4)	\$ 1,450.
3184	Laurencin, Marie:	Deux Filles (1928, 36 1/4 x 29)	\$ 1,300.
3171	Cézanne, Paul:	Trees Among Rocks (1900 - 4, w/c, 18 1/2 x 11 1/4)	\$ 1,250.
3180	Derain, André:	Hill at Monteuil (1912 - 19, 28 3/4 x 36 1/4)	\$ 1,100.
3161	Chagall, Marc:	Twilight (g, 26 x 20 3/4)	\$ 1,050.
3159	Derain, André:	The Farm (1922 - 24, 20 x 24)	\$ 950.
3175	Rouault, Georges:	Ne Blessant pas Volontièrement le Pauvre ou L'Orphelin (1929, g, 20 x 14)	\$ 850.
3158	Chagall, Marc:	Still Life (1939, w/c & g, 21 1/2 x 17 1/2)	\$ 650.
3151	Eilshemius, Louis M:	Croquet (c 1906, 19 3/4 x 30)	\$ 650.
3150	Nakamura, Kanzi:	Betsey (o/w, 8 1/2 x 6 3/4)	\$ 650.
3170	Dufy, Raoul:	Villa dans le Midi (w/c, 19 1/4 x 25)	\$ 600.
3183	Pascin, Jules:	Spanish Girl (32 x 25 1/2)	\$ 600.
3153	Hartley, Marsden:	The Spent Wave (1937 - 8, o/w, 22 1/2 x 28 1/4)	\$ 575.
3160	Chagall, Marc:	Les Amoureux	\$ 550.

3173 Derain, André:	(1940, w/c & g, 23 x 17 1/2) Tête de Femme (10 1/4 x 9 3/4)	\$ 525.
3169 De Segonzac, André:	Farm on a Hillside (w/c, 18 1/2 x 23 1/4)	\$ 450.
3192 Davies, Arthur B:	Day of Good Fortune (1920, 18 x 30)	\$ 250.
3167 Dufy, Raoul:	River Scene (1903, w/c, 9 1/2 x 12 1/2)	\$ 250.
3157 Laurencin, Marie:	Deux Jeunes Filles (1927, 9 3/4 x 13 1/4)	\$ 250.
3168 Picasso, Pablo:	Le Guéridon (1920, g, 10 1/2 x 8 1/2)	\$ 250.
3189 Krogh, Per L:	Portrait of the Artist (o/w, 28 1/2 x 21 1/4)	\$ 225.
3163 Léger, Fernand:	Abstraction: Three Globes (1922, w/c, 12 x 9 1/4)	\$ 225.
3155 Kandinsky, Wassily:	Blue on Black (1935, w/c, 12 1/2 x 19 3/4)	\$ 200.
3191 Léger, Fernand:	Le Trône D'Arbre (1935, 25 1/2 x 19 1/2)	\$ 200.
3156 Dufresne, Charles G:	Orpheus and the Beasts (15 1/4 x 11 1/2)	\$ 150.
3145 Gromaire, Marcel:	Girls and Boats (1928, w/c, 15 1/2 x 12 1/2)	\$ 150.
3194 Krogh, Per L:	Rural Scene (o/w, 23 1/4 x 30 1/4)	\$ 130.
3140 Kisling, Moise:	Young Girl in Garden (1924, 45 3/4 x 35 1/4)	\$ 125.
3195 Leonid:	La Pêche à L'Haveneau dans les Bouchots (1937, 21 1/4 x 31 3/4)	\$ 120.
3146 Lurcat, Jean:	Composition: Design for a Rug (1922, w/c & g, 10 3/4 x 14 3/4)	\$ 90.
3149 Hart, George O:	Melia Brook, Fez (1929, w/c, 14 3/4 x 19 1/2)	\$ 90.
3154 Léger, Fernand:	Abstraction: Two Figures (1912 - 16, w/c, 14 x 10 1/4)	\$ 80.
3152 Maurer, Alfred:	Portrait of Girl (w/c, 21 1/2 x 18)	\$ 80.

SALE G: PROPERTY OF WALTER P CHRYSLER JR., SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 22 MARCH 1945.

No*	Artist	Title	Price
2274	Picasso, Pablo:	Buste de Femme: Jeune Fille (1906, 32 x 25 1/2)	\$ 3,100.
2265	Braque, Georges:	Still Life: Grapes (1918, 21 x 27)	\$ 2,700.
2269		Still Life with Fruit (13 3/4 x 25 1/2)	\$ 2,700.
2276	Picasso, Pablo:	Composition: Fond Vert et Bleu (1922, 32 1/4 x 39)	\$ 2,700.
2278	Soutine, Chaim:	Landscape (26 x 32 1/2)	\$ 2,500.
2261	Daumier, Honoré:	L'Attente à la Gare (o/w, 9 x 13)	\$ 2,350.
2262	Manet, Eduard:	Still Life (16 3/4 x 24 1/4)	\$ 2,100.
2266	Matisse, Henri:	Femme Assise dans un Fauteuil (17 x 13 1/2)	\$ 1,900.
2260	Picasso, Pablo:	Head of Woman (1922, o/w, 9 1/2 x 7 1/2)	\$ 1,900.
2270	Matisse, Henri:	Tête de Femme (1906, 21 1/2 x 18)	\$ 1,800.
2292	Gris, Juan:	La Table Devant la Mer (1925, 29 x 36 1/2)	\$ 1,700.
2267	Picasso, Pablo:	La Maternité (1901, 18 x 13)	\$ 1,700.
2245	Picasso, Pablo:	Study for Demoiselles D'Avignon (1907, p, 8 3/4 x 6 1/2)	\$ 1,600.
2254	Braque, Georges:	Nature Morte (13 x 18)	\$ 1,500.
2273	Gris, Juan:	Bol et Paquet de Cigarettes (13 x 16)	\$ 1,400.
2283	Mondrian, Piet:	Composition, 1936. (48 x 23 1/2)	\$ 1,400.
2253	Gris, Juan:	Compotiere et Livre (1925, 13 x 16)	\$ 1,325.
2268	Soutine, Chaim:	Landscape with Tropical Trees (21 1/2 x 37)	\$ 1,300.
2272	Braque, Georges:	Pitcher and Fruit (p, 18 3/4 x 25)	\$ 1,150.
2264	Gris, Juan:	La Bouteille de Bass (1925, 18 1/4 x 21 1/2)	\$ 1,100.
2263	Picasso, Pablo:	Project for a Monument (1930, o/w, 26 x 18 1/4)	\$ 1,100.
2259	Matisse, Henri:	Tête de Femme (1917, 13 x 9 1/2)	\$ 975.
2257	Gris, Juan:	La Corbeille (1924, 13 x 16 1/4)	\$ 925.
2256	Picasso, Pablo:	Tête Cubiste (1910, 14 1/2 x 12 1/2)	\$ 850.
2249	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Landscape (21 1/2 x 29)	\$ 850.
2304	Miró, Joan:	Composition, 1927. (38 x 51 1/2)	\$ 800.
2237	Renoir, P Auguste:	Paysage (w/c, 6 1/4 x 8 3/4)	\$ 800.

2243 Gris, Juan:	Fruits et Couteau (1924, 16 x 9 1/4)	\$ 775.
2233 Picasso, Pablo:	Verre, Pomme et Couteau (1922, o/c with sand, 9 x 11)	\$ 700.
2247 Braque, Georges:	Still Life with Lemons (o/w, 8 1/2 x 16 1/2)	\$ 675.
2229 Picasso, Pablo:	La Plage (1922, 14 1/2 x 10)	\$ 625.
2244	Guitar on a Table (1921, g & w/c, 10 1/2 x 8 1/4)	\$ 625.
2275 De Chirico, Giorgio:	L'Annunciation (1926, 46 x 35)	\$ 600.
2250 Picasso, Pablo:	Deux Têtes Cubistes (1910, 14 x 13 3/4)	\$ 600.
2255 Rouault, Georges:	Deux Femmes (1913, g & w/c, 12 x 7 1/2)	\$ 600.
2281 Masson, André:	La Poursuite (1927, 36 1/4 x 24)	\$ 575.
2242 Braque, Georges:	Still Life (6 1/2 x 9 1/2)	\$ 550.
2221 Derain, André:	Boats in the Harbour, St Tropez (18 x 15)	\$ 550.
2282 Masson, Andre:	Un Chevalier (1925, o/c with sand, 36 1/4 x 20)	\$ 525.
2301 Miró, Joan:	Primitive (1936, o/w, 32 1/2 x 40 1/4)	\$ 500.
2236 Picasso, Pablo:	Compotière et Guitare (1919, g & w/c, 4 3/4 x 6 1/4)	\$ 500.
2288 De Chirico, Giorgio:	Les Jeux Terribles (1925, 32 x 25 1/2)	\$ 425.
2235 Miró, Joan:	Composition in White (1927, 21 3/4 x 18 1/4)	\$ 425.
2240 Picasso, Pablo:	Verre et Pomme (1923, 9 x 11)	\$ 425.
2224 Picasso, Pablo:	Street Scene (very early, o/w, 3 1/2 x 5 1/2)	\$ 400.
2248 Eilshemius, Louis:	Blue Mountain and River (1919, o/w, 20 1/4 x 30 1/2)	\$ 375.
2246 Derain, André:	Still Life: Apples and Pears (13 x 21 1/2)	\$ 350.
2295 Berman, Eugene:	L'Orage (1929, 36 1/2 x 29)	\$ 325.
2277 Léger, Fernand:	Composition avec Figures (1931, 25 x 18)	\$ 325.
2305 Arp, Hans:	Construction in Low Relief (board, 25 3/4 x 29)	\$ 300.
2241 Miró, Joan:	Abstract, 1933. (14 1/2 x 9)	\$ 300.
2294 Rivera, Diego:	Caballero (1914, 76 1/2 x 51)	\$ 300.
2223 Klee, Paul:	Memories of Nymphenburg (w/c, 6 x 4 3/4)	\$ 280.
2287 Masson, André:	Chevaux Devorant Les Oiseaux (1927, 19 3/4 x 43 1/4)	\$ 275.
2232 Arp, Hans:	Torse et Tete D'Un Oiseau (1930, wood, 12 1/2 x 15 1/2)	\$ 260.
2252 Arp, Hans	Feuilles (1930, wood, 24 1/2 x 19)	\$ 250.
2303 Masson, André:	Les Masques (23 3/4 x 29)	\$ 250.

2258	De Chirico, Giorgio:	La Visite aux Rains Mystérieux - Paquebot Avec Figures. (15 1/2 x 18)	\$ 225.
2293	Lurçat, Jean:	Forms - Composition, 1930. (38 1/2 x 51)	\$ 225.
2239	Derain, André:	The Enchanted Sea (1908 - 10, w/c, 18 3/4 x 24 1/2)	\$ 225.
2234	Gromaire, Marcel:	Le Bain (1927, w/c, 15 3/4 x 12 1/4)	\$ 200.
2302	Léger, Fernand:	Composition avec Figure (1930, 19 3/4 x 25 1/2)	\$ 200.
2284	Survage, Leopold:	Figure in Landscape (1921, 25 1/2 x 36 1/2)	\$ 185.
2291	Burliuk, David:	Radio Horse (1937, 28 x 34)	\$ 180.
2251	Masson, André:	La Chase (p/c, 19 3/4 x 29)	\$ 175.
2279	Moholy-Nagy, Lazlo:	Abstraction (1925, 37 1/4 x 29 3/4)	\$ 175.
2299	Arp, Hans	Balcon I, 1930. (o/w, 28 1/2 x 40 1/2)	\$ 170.
2280		Fragment Encadre (1938, 26 3/4 x 34 3/4)	\$ 160.
2289	Arp, Hans:	Abstract Sculpture (board, 32 x 28)	\$ 150.
2227	Lurçat, Jean:	Trois Figures (1934, g, 15 3/4 x 22)	\$ 150.
2296	Metzinger, Jean:	L'Homme avec son Pipe (1914, 51 x 38)	\$ 150.
2285	Arp, Hans:	Roue, 1930. (40 1/2 x 28 1/2)	\$ 140.
2300		Balcon II, 1930. (28 1/2 x 40 1/2)	\$ 140.
2297	Herbin, Auguste:	Traverse à Cassis (1923, 23 3/4 x 29)	\$ 140.
2230	Lurçat, Jean:	Still Life (10 3/4 x 16 1/4)	\$ 135.
2290	Maurer, Alfred H:	Still Life (18 x 21 1/2)	\$ 125.
2231	Miró, Joan:	Abstract Composition (o/p & g, 5 1/4 x 7 3/4)	\$ 120.
2216	Orozco, J Clemente:	Three Figures (1933, w/c, 7 1/4 x 5 3/4)	\$ 120.

[[* Numbers as listed in Art Prices Current: 1944 - 45; p A51 - A53.]

SALE H: PROPERTY OF J K THANNHAUSER, SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 12 APRIL 1945.

No*	Artist	Title	Price
2472	Corot, Camille:	Campagne Romaine (1856, 38 1/2 x 53 1/4)	\$ 6,000.
2458	Manet, Edouard:	Mature Morte: Les Prunes (1882 -3, 8 1/2 x 9 3/4)	\$ 5,750.
2459	Sisley, Alfred:	Chemin des Fontaines a Veneux- Nadon (1885, 19 1/2 x 25 1/2)	\$ 5,000.
2466	Van Gogh, Vincent:	Jeune Fille au Ruban Rouge (1885 - 8, 23 3/4 x 19 3/4)	\$ 5,000.
2464	Cézanne, Paul:	Route Tournante en Sous-Bois (1873 - 5, 21 3/4 x 18)	\$ 4,750.
2468	Manet, Eouard:	Jeune Femme aux Cheveux Tombant sur les Epaules (1873 - 7, 24 x 19 3/4)	\$ 4,750.
2461	Renoir, P Auguste	Villa à Cagnes (12 x 17)	\$ 4,600.
2467	Gauguin, Paul:	Village Sous la Neige (1903, 30 x 26 1/4)	\$ 4,500.
2465	Picasso, Pablo:	Les Amants (1900, 26 x 20)	\$ 4,250.
2470	Matisse, Henri:	Les Aubergines (1908, 46 x 35 1/2)	\$ 3,250.
2471	Degas, H Edgar:	Danseuse en Violet (p, 23 1/4 x 18 1/4)	\$ 3,000.
2453	Bonnard, Pierre:	Bords de la Seine (1911, 15 1/2 x 24 1/2)	\$ 2,850.
2460	Pissarro, Camille:	Après-Midi, Eragny (1899, 18 1/4 x 21 3/4)	\$ 2,750.
2469	Degas, H Edgar:	Femme Regardant un Album (p, 37 3/4 x 25 1/4)	\$ 2,600.
2462	Monet, Cluade	Antibes et les Alpes Maritimes (1888, 24 x 20)	\$ 2,500.
2454	Renoir, P Auguste:	Still Life (1916, 7 1/4 x 15)	\$ 2,400.
2476	Monet, Claude:	Nymphéas (1907, 36 1/2 x 29)	\$ 2,200.
2456	Renoir, P Auguste:	Landscape with View of the Sea (8 1/2 x 11 3/4)	\$ 2,100.
2455	Cézanne, Paul:	Dans le Jardin du Jas de Bouffan (1867 - 70, 9 1/4 x 12)	\$ 2,000.
2463	Matisse, Henri:	Paysage: Collioure (1909, 24 x 29)	\$ 2,000.
2448	Picasso, Pablo:	Jardin du Luxembourg (1901, p/carton, 18 1/4 x 25 1/2)	\$ 1,850.
2477		Nu Debout (25/12/23, green ink wash, 42 1/2 x 28 1/4)	\$ 1,050.
2457	Daumier, Honoré:	Les Avocats (8 3/4 x 11 /12)	\$ 1,000.
2445	Gris, Juan:	Fruits (1923, 9 1/2 x 13 3/4)	\$ 875.
2452	Matisse, Henri:	Le Sentier des Champs (o/w, 13 x 15 1/4)	\$ 750.

2449	Gauguin, Paul:	À Venus (1889, o/w, 8 1/4 x 8 1/2)	\$ 700.
2479	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	L'Eglise (21 3/4 x 25 1/2)	\$ 650.
2441	Cézanne, P:	Paysage Sous-Bois (1885 - 95, w/c, 18 1/2 x 12)	\$ 600.
2475	Derain, André:	Still Life (26 1/4 x 32 1/2)	\$ 600.
2437	Cézanne, P:	Verdure (w/c, 12 x 17 1/2)	\$ 500.
2451	Laurencin, Marie:	Nu Allongé sur Fond Vert (13 x 16 1/4)	\$ 425.
2450	Derain, André:	Nu (11 3/4 x 10 3/4)	\$ 400.
2442	Cézanne, P:	Sous-Bois (1895 - 1900, w/c, 17 x 11 1/2)	\$ 375.
2478	Lurçat, Jean:	Still Life (32 x 21)	\$ 300.
2446	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Village (w/c & g, 15 3/4 x 21)	\$ 300.
2438	Cézanne, P:	Les Arbres (1892 - 94, w/c, 11 x 17)	\$ 250.
2443	Derain, André:	Pears (5 3/4 x 8)	\$ 225.

SALE I: PROPERTY OF MRS J D CAMERON BRADLEY, ALBERT OTTON, EDWARD A BRAGALINE (AND OTHERS), SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 10 - 11 DECEMBER 1947.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
1210	Matisse, Henri:	Le Bouquet d'Anemones (24 x 18 1/4)	4,900.
1219	Sisley, Alfred:	La Route de Stain-Germain (1872, 18 x 23 1/4)	4,500.
1162	Renoir, P Auguste:	Villefranche Vue de Saint-Jean (18 x 22)	4,000.
1163	Cassatt, Mary:	Mother and Child (p, 28 x 22)	2,600.
1161	Matisse, Henri:	Figure in Interior (10 1/2 x 14)	2,300.
1167	Utrillo, Maurice:	Cabaret de Maria Vizier, Rue de Mont Cenis (28 3/4 x 21 1/4)	1,800.
1160	Utrillo, Maurice:	Montmartre (g, 13 1/4 x 20)	1,700.
1145	Matisse, Henri:	Nature Morte (c 1905, 15 x 18 1/4)	1,600.
1207	Utrillo, Maurice:	Toits de Paris (18 x 21 3/4)	1,500.
1223	Munch, Edvard:	Harvesters (1922, 39 1/4 x 47 1/2)	1,450.
1206	Chagall, Marc:	Paysage (25 1/4 x 33)	1,300.
1170	Laurencin, Marie:	Le Femme à l'Oeillet (1927, 21 1/2 x 18 1/2)	1,200.
1211	Dufy, Raoul:	Mme Mori (25 x 21 1/4)	1,100.
1137	Bonnard, Pierre:	Corbeille de Fruits (w/c, 20 1/4 x 29 1/4)	1,000.
1144	Derain, André:	Petit Paysage (13 x 16)	975.
1186	Braque, Georges:	Still Life: Yellow Apples (1925, 9 x 10 1/2)	900.
1208	Laurencin, Marie:	Dans la Forêt (1920, 32 x 39 1/4)	850.
1233	Pascin, Jules	Jeune Fille Assise (28 3/4 x 23 1/2)	800.
1209	Cassatt, Mary:	Sisters (p, 14 3/4 x 21)	750.
1168	Chirico, Giorgio de:	Castor and Pollux: I (32 x 39 3/4)	750.
1182	Marin, John:	New York (1920, w/c, 15 1/4 x 18 1/4)	750.
1169	Chirico, Giorgio de:	Castor and Pollux: II (31 1/2 x 41)	700.
1198	Utrillo, Maurice:	Moulin de la Galette. (o/w, 7 x 9 1/2)	675.
1231	Kisling, Moise:	Jeune Fille Provençal (36 x 25 1/2)	650.
1213	Bonnard, Pierre:	Studio (g, 16 1/2 x 18 1/2)	600.
1205	Derain, André:	Nu (16 3/4 x 13)	600.
1148	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Flowers	600.

1171 Chagall, Marc:	(21 3/4 x 18 1/4) Still Life	550.
1123 Dufy, Raoul:	(w/c, 22 1/2 x 17) Horses on Seashore	525.
1217 Derain, André:	(w/c & g, 15 1/2 x 28 3/4) Nude	500.
1215 Laurencin, Marie:	(23 x 21 1/4) La Danse	500.
1224 Vlaminck, Maurice:	(1931, 18 1/4 x 21 1/2) Coast of Normandy	500.
1234 Chirico, Giorgio de:	(26 x 32) Gladiator	450.
1113 Marin, John:	(51 1/4 x 38) Palisades on the Hudson	450.
1130 Derain, André:	(1914, 14 x 16 1/2) Eve Curie	425.
1153 Derain, André:	(14 x 9) Buste de Femme	400.
1212	(21 1/2 x 12 1/4) Still Life	400.
1142 Marin, John:	(21 3/4 x 18 1/4) Delaware River Valley, Pennsylvania	400.
1196 Chagall, Marc:	(1916, w/c, 16 1/2 x 19 1/4) Intérieur	375.
1177 Chirico, Giorgio de:	(g, 6 1/4 x 11 3/4) Ruins in Room	350.
1237	(21 3/4 x 25 1/2) Armoires dans une Valee	350.
1173 Eilshemius:	(24 x 34 3/4) Bathers	350.
1194 Vlaminck, Maurice de:	(1918, 18 1/2 x 30 1/4) Village Street	350.
1155 Chirico, Giorgio de:	(w/c, 17 3/4 x 20 1/4) Sur la Place	325.
1199 Derain, André:	(w/c, 19 1/4 x 13 1/2) Countess di Frasso	325.
1201 Vertes, Marcel:	(11 x 8 3/4) Aleko	325.
1141 Vlaminck, Maurice de:	(28 1/2 x 16) Paysage	325.
1149 Derain, André:	(w/c, 16 x 21 1/2) Girl	300.
1238 Ihote, André:	(16 x 13) Reclining Nude	300.
1197 Chirico, Giorgio de:	(24 x 34 3/4) Two Figures	250.
1228 Eilshemius:	(o/w, 8 x 5 3/4) Opal	250.
1134 Friesz, Othon:	(20 x 30 1/2) Port de Toulon	250.
1189 Laurencin, Marie:	(1929, 18 x 25 1/2) Scene de Ballet	250.
1239 Souverbie, Jean:	(w/c, 10 1/2 x 14 1/2) Baigneuses	250.
1139 Braque, Georges:	(1927, 24 x 29) Still Life	225.
1174 Dufy, Jean:	(o/w, 3 x 9 1/2) Le Cirque Medrano	225.
	(1922, 26 x 31 3/4)	

1195 Marin, John:	Maine Landscape (1914, w/c, 18 1/2 x 16)	225.
1229 Sterne, Maurice:	Dawn (33 1/2 x 30)	225.
1188 Dufy, Jean:	Le Port (w/c, 17 1/4 x 23 3/4)	210.
1235 Chagall, Marc:	Matelot à Toulon (g, 30 x 21)	200.
1236 Miró, Joan:	Composition (g, 30 x 21)	200.
1193 Laurencin, Marie:	Three Figures (w/c, 9 1/4 x 13)	200.
1109 Laurencin, Marie:	Three Figures (w/c, 13 3/4 x 9 3/4)	185.
1140	Les Espagnoles (w/c, 7 1/4 x 9 1/4)	185.
1191 Dufy, Jean:	Le Cirque (g & w/c, 17 1/4 x 23 1/4)	180.
1111 Tamayo, Ruffino:	Watermelon (1939, o/w, 5 x 7 1/4)	180.
1114 Dufy, Jean:	Harbour Scene, Sunset (w/c, 18 x 24)	175.
1184 Dufy, Jean:	Le Quai (w/c, 18 x 24)	170.
1132 Graves, Morris:	Young Woodpeckers (w/c & g, 29 1/2 x 21 1/2)	170.
1120 Laurencin, Marie:	Girl in Pink (w/c, 11 1/2 x 9 1/2)	170.
1133 Lurcat, Jean:	The Shore (1939, g, 15 x 20)	170.
1121 Dufy, Jean:	L'Institut, Paris (w/c, 15 x 23 1/4)	160.
1214 Ernst, Max:	Flowers (25 3/4 x 32)	160.
1154 Lurcat, Jean	Reclining Nude (1927, 15 1/2 x 29 1/4)	160.
1242 Lee, Doris:	Landscape with Hunter (22 x 36)	150.
1231 Muller, Otto:	Nude in Landscape (47 x 35)	150.
1190 Dufy, Jean	Le Port (e/c, 18 1/2 x 24 1/2)	140.

SALE J: PROPERTY OF JOSEPH H HIRSHHORN AND STANLEY N BARBEE, SALE AT
PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 10 NOVEMBER 1948.

No*	Artist	Title	Price
4956	Renoir, Auguste P:	Femme Assise (1889, 15 x 11 1/2)	\$ 6,250.
4962	Monet, Claude:	Vase de Capucines (1880, 31 x 24 1/2)	\$ 5,500.
4961	Utrillo, Maurice:	La Rue Norvins (1920, 29 x 20)	\$ 2,800.
4945	Cézanne, Paul:	Les Grandes Arbres au Jas de Bouffon (1885 - 7, w/c, 12 x 19 1/4)	\$ 2,600.
4960	Chagall, Marc:	Concert Bleu (1945, 49 1/2 x 40)	\$ 2,600.
4948	Rouault, Georges:	Christ and the Fisherman (13 x 9 1/4)	\$ 2,250.
4946	Toulouse-Lautrec, H:	Domestique et Lad Promenant des Chevaux (1880, 12 x 19 3/4)	\$ 2,100.
4942	Rouault, Georges:	Clown in Interior (21 1/2 x 15 1/2)	\$ 2,000.
4964	Utrillo, Maurice:	L'Abri St Joseph (o/w, 26 x 19 1/4)	\$ 2,000.
4958	Chagall, Marc:	Une Seule Pensée (36 x 28 1/2)	\$ 1,900.
4953	Utrillo, Maurice:	Rue Ste Rustique (22 x 18 1/2)	\$ 1,700.
4932	Chagall, Marc:	Fin de Journée (1945, 22 1/4 x 26 1/4)	\$ 1,500.
4934	Renoir, P Auguste:	Garden in Cagnes (c. 1900, 8 3/4 x 10 3/4)	\$ 1,350.
4955	Gris, Juan:	Abstraction: "Le Jour" (19 1/2 x 13 1/2)	\$ 1,300.
4957	Pascin, Jules:	Girl in Green and Rose (36 1/4 x 28 3/4)	\$ 1,300.
4947	Rouault, Georges:	L'Homme au Gilet Rouge (1930, 14 1/2 x 12 1/2)	\$ 1,300.
4954	Picasso, Pablo:	Dora Maar (17 1/2 x 15 1/4)	\$ 1,250.
4936	Ensor, James:	The Artist (Sous les Phases de la Lune, Ma Portrait) (1937, o/w, 13 1/4 x 10)	\$ 1,000.
4943	Henner, Jean J:	Nude in Contemplation (14 x 10 3/4)	\$ 1,000.
4963	Redon, Odilon:	Fecondité: Femme dans les Fleurs (p, 25 1/4 x 19 1/2)	\$ 1,000.
4944	Boudin, Eugene L:	Fecamp: Harbour Scene (1891, 13 1/4 x 16 1/4)	\$ 850.
4941	Chagall, Marc:	Le Satyre et Le Passant. (w/c, 20 x 16)	\$ 625.
4935	Derain, André:	Girl with Coral Necklace (23 x 19)	\$ 600.
4950		Le Sourire (16 x 13)	\$ 525.
4965		Woman (35 1/2 x 28 1/4)	\$ 500.

4926	Head of Woman (13 1/2 x 12 1/2)	\$ 450.
4966	Eilshemius, Louis: Landscape with Boat (1907, 20 x 30)	\$ 450.
4952	Daubigny, Charles F: Sundown, Twilight Landscape (o/w, 8 x 13 3/4)	\$ 400.
4951	Monticelli, Adolphe: The Concert (o/w, 10 3/4 x 16)	\$ 400.
4930	Segonzac, André D de: Blue Lamp Shade (1927, w/c, 15 1/2 x 22)	\$ 400.
4933	Pascin, Jules: Seated Nude (24 x 18)	\$ 400.
4939	Masson, André: Naissance d'un Oiseau (1942, 24 x 28)	\$ 300.
4940	Vytlačil, Vaclav: Yvee (g & t, 28 x 16)	\$ 300.
4937	Marin, John: In the Tyrol (w/c, 15 1/4 x 18 1/4)	\$ 275.
4938	Summer (1913, w/c, 15 x 18)	\$ 250.
4927	Pascin, Jules: L'Enlèvement D'Europe (w/c, 18 x 22 1/4)	\$ 175.
4921	Pascin, Jules: Round a Fountain (w/c, 10 1/2 x 8 1/4)	\$ 150.
4949	Chirico, Giorgio de: L'Inutile Victoire (1928, 18 1/4 x 15)	\$ 125.

[* As listed in Art Prices Current: 1948 - 49; p All2 - All4.]

SALE K: PROPERTY OF JOSEF VON STERNBERG, SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 22 NOVEMBER 1949.

No*	Artist	Title	Price
742	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Le Grand Nu (1918, 28 x 46)	\$12,500.
741	Degas, Edgar:	Danseuses (p, 35 1/2 x 27 1/4)	\$ 8,400.
740	Kokoshka, Oscar:	Tower Bridge, London (1925, 30 x 50)	\$ 5,500.
734	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Mme Zborowski (1918, o/w, 28 1/2 x 16 1/4)	\$ 4,000.
739	Picasso, Pablo:	La Gommeuse (1901, 31 1/4 x 20 3/4)	\$ 3,600.
743	Chagall, Marc:	Les Amoureux dans les Fleurs (1930, 50 1/2 x 34 3/4)	\$ 3,300.
737	Matisse, Henri:	Les Concombres (1907, 15 x 18)	\$ 2,550.
736	Rouault, Georges:	Clowns (c 1930, 18 1/2 x 11 1/2)	\$ 2,500.
731	Utrillo, Maurice:	La Rue des Abbesses (1915, 14 3/4 x 18)	\$ 2,400.
727	Chagall, Marc:	Village Street (o/c & g, 21 x 25 3/4)	\$ 1,500.
725	Klee, Paul:	Côte Meridional (1925, 14 1/2 x 18 3/4)	\$ 1,400.
730	Bombois, Camille:	La Chute d'Eau (1943, 24 x 28 1/2)	\$ 1,100.
728	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Snowy Landscape (28 1/2 x 36)	\$ 1,100.
732		Cathedral (25 x 31 1/2)	\$ 1,000.
745	Grosz, George:	World of Asphalt (1931, 47 1/2 x 35)	\$ 675.
744	Pascin, Jules:	Two Models (31 1/2 x 24 1/4)	\$ 650.
721	Kisling, Moise:	Nude (16 1/4 x 10 3/4)	\$ 475.
746	Schiele, Egon:	Wachau on the Danube (1914, 39 1/4 x 47 1/4)	\$ 450.
733	Dix, Otto:	Maternity (1932, o/w, 31 x 22)	\$ 400.
735	Pascin, Jules:	Standing Nude (1925, 25 1/2 x 21 1/4)	\$ 400.
720	Gromaire, Marcel:	Maison à Mariakerke (1935, 12 3/4 x 16)	\$ 325.
724	Pechstein, Max H:	Nude with Flower (Palau, 1917) (29 x 23)	\$ 250.
715	Derain, André:	Figures in Landscape (w/c, 19 x 25)	\$ 225.
726	Masareel, Frans:	Port de Boulogne (1927, 28 3/4 x 39 3/4)	\$ 225.
729	Pechstein, Max H:	Ripe Wheat Fields (1922, 32 x 39 1/2)	\$ 200.
722	Nolde, Emil:	Dark Afternoon (28 3/4 x 34 1/2)	\$ 175.
723	Van Dongen, Kees:	Yung Ting (1910, 28 1/2 x 21 1/2)	\$ 125.

747	Muller, Otto:	His Wife	\$	125.
		(t, 32 1/2 x 24 1/2)		
712	Schmidt-Rotluff, K:	Poppies	\$	100.
		(w/c, 26 3/4 x 19 1/4)		
716		Red Bridge	\$	100.
		(1921, w/c, 18 3/4 x 24)		
768		Landscape with Clouds	\$	60.
		(1922, w/c, 18 3/4 x 24)		

[* As Listed in Art Prices Current, 1949 - 50; p A30 - A32.]

SALE L: PROPERTY OF ALBERT E McVITTY AND KEITH WARNER, SALE AT
PARKE-BERNETT GALERIES, 15 DECEMBER 1949.

No*	Artist	Title	Price
1174	Kokoshka, Oscar:	The Deer (1926, 51 x 35)	\$ 2,800.
1165	Sisley, Alfred:	Quai Malaquais, Paris (1873, 12 3/4 x 16)	\$ 1,600.
1139	Cassatt, Mary:	Little Girl in Green Bonnet (p, 24 1/4 x 13)	\$ 1,575.
1157	Chagall, Marc:	Still Life (g, 24 3/4 x 18 3/4)	\$ 1,300.
1155	Edzard, Dietz:	Bois de Boulogne (24 x 29)	\$ 1,300.
1109	Guys, Constantin:	L'Entrée au Théâtre (w/c, 14 1/2 x 9 1/2)	\$ 1,109.
1161	Dufy, Rauol:	St Adresse (23 1/2 x 28 3/4)	\$ 1,100.
1164	Raffaelli, Jean F:	Boulevard à Asnieres (21 1/2 x 27 1/2)	\$ 1,100.
1172	Rouault, Georges:	The Meeting (20 x 25 1/2)	\$ 1,100.
1167	Utrillo, Maurice:	Street Scene, Paris (20 1/2 x 25 1/2)	\$ 1,000.
1158	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	La Cruche aux Fleurs (16 x 13)	\$ 950.
1171	Utrillo, Maurice:	Rue à Sannois (o/w, 21 x 29 1/2)	\$ 900.
1119	Boudin, Eugene L:	Market Place (1896, o/w, 18 x 14 1/2)	\$ 850.
1162	Bombois, Camille:	Le Grand Pont à Chablis (26 x 36)	\$ 750.
1170	Cassatt, Mary:	Mother and Child (26 x 20 1/2)	\$ 750.
1146	Masson, André:	Enfants et Oiseaux (1932, 25 1/2 x 21)	\$ 700.
1116	Hassam, Childe:	StreetScene (13 1/2 x 10 1/2)	\$ 625.
1179	Pascin, Jules:	Girl with Fruit (36 x 29)	\$ 650.
1165	Adrion, Lucien:	Paris Street Scene (24 x 20)	\$ 600.
1132	Renoir, Auguste:	Paysage (7 1/2 x 9 1/2)	\$ 600.
1122	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	La Fermière (15 x 18)	\$ 600.
1118	Marin, John:	Maine Coast (1919, w/c, 13 1/4 x 16 1/4)	\$ 550.
1158	Eisendick, Suzanne:	La Seine à Samois (21 x 20)	\$ 525.
1148	Marin, John:	Back of the Water (1942, w/c, 15 x 19 1/2)	\$ 500.
1180	Stevens, Alfred:	Young Girl (27 1/2 x 20)	\$ 500.
1159	Laurencin, Marie:	Anemones (22 x 18)	\$ 450.
1131	Weber, Max:	Les Amies (15 1/2 x 19 1/4)	\$ 450.

1144	Adrion, Lucien:	The Terrace (20 x 23 1/2)	\$ 425.
1142	Laurencin, Marie:	Girl with Mandolin (1948, 22 x 18)	\$ 425.
1127	Léger, Fernand:	Abstraction (1942, g, 17 1/2 x 22)	\$ 400.
1108	Utrillo, Maurice:	La Maison de Jeanne d'Arc (g, 6 1/4 x 9 1/2)	\$ 400.
1125		Virage de la Rue Lepic (o/w, 9 1/2 x 12 1/2)	\$ 400.
1175	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Vue d'un Village (18 x 24)	\$ 400.
1173	Dufy, Jean:	Still Life (25 1/2 x 20)	\$ 375.
1112	Hassam, Childe:	Girl Standing by Mantel (o/w, 7 x 10)	\$ 375.
1117		Paris: Cabs in Snow (1888, o/w, 9 3/4 x 6 1/4)	\$ 375.
1177	Kisling, Moise:	Reclining Nude (32 x 53 3/4)	\$ 375.
1113	Raffaelli, Jean F:	Au Bois de Boulogne (o/w, 9 1/2 x 4 1/2)	\$ 375.
1163	Chirio, Giorgio de:	Chevaux Sur la Plage Antique (29 x 36)	£ 350.
1178	Avery, Milton:	Mother and Child (1943, 48 x 32)	\$ 325.
1143	Dufy, Jean:	Boats (24 x 18)	\$ 300.
1115	Dufy, Raoul:	Taormina (w/c & g, 19 x 24 1/2)	\$ 300.
1152	Grosz, George:	I woke Up in the Night and Saw a House (o/w, 26 x 20 1/2)	\$ 300.
1169	Raffaelli, Jean F:	À Votre Santé, Mère Beautemps (32 x 26 1/2)	\$ 300.
1120	Davies, Arthur B:	Four Nude Figures (w/c, 17 x 22)	\$ 275.
1147	Grosz, George:	Landscape at Point Rouge (1927, 25 1/2 x 19 1/4)	\$ 275.
1149	Lebourg, Charles A:	Aux Bords de la Seine (16 x 26)	\$ 275.
1124	Signac, Paul:	Boats 1897, w/c, 13 x 19)	\$ 275.
1145	Rivera, Diego M:	Still Life (1916, 23 1/2 x 28 3/4)	\$ 250.
1138	Weir, J Alden:	Bit of New England (24 x 20)	\$ 250.
1106	Bombois, Camille:	Pièce d'Eau (5 1/2 x 8 1/2)	\$ 240.
1151	Avery, Milton:	Profile with Flowers (1944, g, 29 x 21)	\$ 225.
1160		The Letter (1944, g, 22 x 30)	\$ 225.
1123	Cobelle, Charles:	Le Jardin des Tuilleries (w/c, 20 1/4 x 26 1/2)	\$ 225.
1134	O'Keefe, Georgia:	Cactus and Indian Paint Brush (1940, 5 3/4 x 7)	\$ 225.
1133	Lawson, Ernest:	High Bridge over Harlem River (o/w, 15 1/2 x 20)	\$ 225.
1114	Morisot, Berthe:	Head of Little Girl	\$ 225.

SALE M: PROPERTY OF KEITH WARNER, MRS E GRUENBAUM AND OTHER OWNERS;
 SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALERIES, 16 MARCH 1950. [Art Prices Current:
 Vol (1949 - 50); p A86 - A89.]

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
2276	Renoir, P Auguste:	Bust of a Girl (11 x 12)	3,700.
2282	Degas, H Edgar:	Femme à Sa Toilette (p, 24 1/2 x 19)	2,700.
2247	Renoir, P Auguste:	Landscape (12 1/2 x 16)	2,000.
2281	Rouault, Georges:	Head of Christ (25 x 18 1/2)	1,900.
2280	Utrillo, Maurice:	La Maison de Mimi Pinson (18 x 22)	1,800.
2273	Rousseau, H (le Douannier):	Le Grand-Père (16 x 12 3/4)	1,700.
2242	Chagall, Marc:	Blue (26 x 14)	1,250.
2272	Chagall, Marc:	Flowers (26 x 21 1/2)	1,200.
2260	Weber, Max:	The Manuscript (1943, 26 x 32)	1,150.
2270	Utrillo, Maurice:	Dimanche (14 1/2 x 19)	1,100.
2258	Chagall, Marc:	Midnight Rendezvous (1926, g, 18 3/4 x 24 1/4)	1,000.
2269	Edzard, Dietz:	Au Bois de Boulogne (20 x 26)	1,000.
2229	Marin, John:	Fisherman and Boats (1939, w/c, 17 3/4 x 23 1/4)	1,000.
2267	Soutine, Chaim;	Le Boeuf Accroché (26 x 20)	1,000.
2274	Utrillo, Maurice:	La Tourelle (21 1/2 x 25 1/2)	1,000.
2252	Chirico, Giorgio de:	Piazza (23 1/2 x 15 1/4)	900.
2223	Bonnard, Pierre:	Still Life with Roses (w/c, 20 x 16 3/4)	850.
2263	Utrillo, Maurice:	Street in Montmartre (21 1/2 x 18)	800.
2256	Cassatt, Mary:	Fillette Dans un Fauleuil (18 x 15)	775.
2245	Rouault, Georges:	Christ in the Market Place (1930, g, 14 3/4 x 11 3/4)	700.
2265		Passion 92 (g, 21 1/2 x 16 1/2)	700.
2254	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Bouquet (16 1/4 x 13)	700.
2261		Roses (18 1/4 x 13)	700.
2221	Renoir, P Auguste:	Paysage (7 1/2 x 9 1/2)	675.
2275	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Still Life (27 1/4 x 28)	650.
2233	Vuillard, Edouard:	Woman with a Blue Apron (o/w, 8 3/4 x 6 3/4)	625.
2235	Rouault, Georges:	Clown	550.

2250 Bombois, Camille:	(16 x 11) The Watermill	500.
2239 Laurencin, Marie:	(22 x 18) Fleurs Dans un Vase	475.
2228 Utrillo, Maurice:	(1940, 18 x 14 1/2) Menilmontant	475.
2268 Adrion, Lucien:	(1923, g, 12 1/4 x 14) La Plage à Nice	450.
2243 Dufy, Jean:	(1929, 29 x 36) Still Life	450.
2227 Dufy, Raoul:	(g, 23 1/2 x 17 3/4) Girls and Horses at the Beach	450.
2225 Marin, John:	(w/c, 19 3/4 x 25 1/4) Landscape	450.
2234 Vlaminck, Maurice de:	(w/c, 16 x 13 1/4) Les Champs de Bretagne	450.
2232 Bombois, Camille:	(15 x 18) Le Pont	325.
2231 Segonzac, André D de:	(9 1/2 x 13 3/4) La Midinette	325.
2241 Bombois, Camille:	(o/w, 13 3/4 x 10 1/2) Snowscape	300.
2251 Brook, Alexander:	(16 x 13) Lady Apples	300.
2230 Dufy, Raoul:	(1930, 16 1/4 x 20) On the Turf	300.
2283 Hélon Jean:	(w/c, 18 1/2 x 24 3/4) L'Homme au Journal	300.
2237 Derain, André:	(1943, 43 x 29) Portrait of a Woman	275.
2255 Kisling, Moise:	(18 x 15) Flowers	275.
2238 Chirico, Giorgio de:	(29 x 21) Au Bord de la Mer	250.
2220 Bombois, Camille:	(13 1/4 x 18 1/4) La Baigneuse	225.
2219 Chirico, Giorgio de:	(6 1/4 x 8 3/4) Equestrian Composition	225.
2249 Masson, André:	(g, 11 x 14 1/2) Paysage an Forme de Poissons	225.
2288 Derain, André:	(14 x 18) Portrait of a Young Girl	200.
2226 Laurencin, Marie:	(o/w, 26 x 21) Girl in Blue	200.
2257 Austin, Darrel:	(13 1/2 x 10 1/2) The Dancer	175.
2259 Avery, Milton:	(1943, p, 20 x 12) Beach Umbrellas	175.
2271 Dufy, Jean:	(1944, g, 22 x 30) View of the Louvre	175.
2222 Dufy, Raoul:	(1928, 23 1/2 x 28 3/4) Trees	175.
2253 Friesz, Othon:	(w/c, 17 1/4 x 21 1/2) Paysage	175.
2284 Adrion, Lucien:	(1935, 21 1/2 x 25 1/2) Place de l'Opéra	150.
2248 Coubine, Othon:	(1938, 29 x 36 1/2) Flowers	150.
2246 Derain, André:	(29 x 23 1/2) Nude Seated	150.

1150	Adrion, Lucien:	(11 x 8 1/2) La Plage à Nice (24 1/2 x 30)	\$ 200.
1153		A la Plage (1930, 24 x 29)	\$ 200.
1176	Chirico, Giorigio de:	Les Astrologues (47 x 21 1/4)	\$ 200.
1121	Courbet, Gustave:	Paysage Rocheux (o/w, 11 3/4 x 6 1/2)	\$ 200.
1141	Grosz, George:	Standing Nude (1940, 24 x 16)	\$ 200.
1107	Hassam, Childe:	Nude Bathing (1909, o/w, 8 1/2 x 5 1/2)	\$ 200.
1140	Pascin, Jules:	La Toilette (25 1/2 x 21 1/2)	\$ 200.
1111	Segonzac, André D de:	Landscape (o/w, 9 3/4 x 13)	\$ 200.
1181	Blatas, Arbit:	Young Artist (29 x 24)	\$ 175.
1184	Myers, Jerome:	Summer Festival (1934, 24 1/2 x 40)	\$ 175.
1154	Busquets, Jean:	Parc du Bagatelle (24 x 29)	\$ 160.
1135	Kisling, Moise:	Alpine Landscape (22 x 15 1/4)	\$ 150.
1183	Kronberg, Louis:	Mlle de la Roche (24 x 18)	\$ 150.
1137	Lawson, Ernest:	Bright Day in Spain (18 x 22)	\$ 150.
1156	Coubine, Othon:	Nu Couché (24 x 28 1/2)	\$ 125.
1136	Davies, Arthur B:	Hours and the Freedom of the Fields (18 x 30)	\$ 125.
1130	Grosz, George:	Morning, Cape Cod (1939, 2w/c, 13 3/4 x 18)	\$ 110.
1128	Hayter, William:	Child's Play (1934, w/c, 25 x 24)	\$ 100.

2240 Avery, Milton:	(22 x 18 1/4) Still Life with Lemons (1945, 18 x 23 1/2)	125.
2278	Master and Pupil (1944, g, 30 x 22)	125.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
464	Van Gogh, Vincent:	Peasant Walking Along the Fields (18 x 15)	13,500.
465	Degas, H G Edgar:	Trois Jockeys (p, 19 1/2 x 25 1/2)	6,000.
463	Pissarro, Camille:	Le Clocher de Bazincourt (14 x 10 3/4)	1,900.
468	Utrillo, Maurice:	Maison Natale de Jeanne d'Arc, Domremy (1942, 18 x 22 1/2)	1,650.
456	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Landscape with Bare Trees (21 x 26)	1,350.
457	Bombois, Camille:	Ravine in the Vosges Mountains (29 x 23 1/2)	1,000.
471	Rivera, Diego M:	Delфина Flores (1937, o/w, 48 x 24)	1,000.
440	Renoir, P Auguste:	Jeune Fille Dans une Paysage (6 1/2 x 9 3/4)	950.
461	Utrillo, Maurice:	La Caserne (o/w, 14 3/4 x 18 1/2)	950.
455	Eisendick, Suzanne:	Jeune fille aux Tuileries (21 1/2 x 26)	850.
458	Rivera, Diego M:	Nina Parada (1937, 3 1/2 x 23 1/2)	800.
453	Daubigny, Charles F:	Lavauses au Bord de l'Oise (18 1/2 x 31 1/2)	775.
435	Renoir, P Auguste:	Jardin Dans la Rue Cortot (8 x 3)	125.
438	Forain, Jean L:	Au Theatre (11 x 8 3/4)	650.
454	Fantin-Latour, Henri:	Nymph (o/w, 17 x 13 1/2)	625.
436	Martin, John:	Coast of Maine (w/c, 19 x 16)	600.
470	Grosz, George:	World of Asphalt (1931, 47 1/4 x 35)	575.
446	Eisendick, Suzanne:	Trois Danseuses (25 x 28)	525.
441	De Chirico, Giorgio:	Still Life in Landscape (15 3/4 x 19 3/4)	450.
459	Florquin, Louis:	Pont Napoleon (23 1/2 x 28 1/2)	450.
433	Bombois, Camille:	L'Autonne a Crosnes (7 1/2 x 10 1/2)	425.
448	Dufy, Jean:	Fleurs des Champs (g & w/c, 23 1/2 x 17 1/2)	400.
443	Dufy, Jean:	Boulevard Suchet (g & w/c, 18 1/2 x 22 1/2)	350.
469		Still Life (13 x 16)	350.
442	Covarrubias, Miguel:	Bali Mother and Child (21 1/4 x 15 1/4)	300.
462	Dufy, Jean:	Au Cirque Medrano (1939, g & w/c, 15 x 11 1/2)	300.
466		Puits de Chavannes, P: Birth of Venus	300.

	(1880, 33 1/4 x 61)	
450	Raffaelli, Jean F: At the Outskirts of a Town	300.
	(16 1/4 x 16 1/2)	
447	Gourjon, Claude: Eglise St Pierre et Sacre Coeur	
	de Montmartre (1950, 20 x 24)	275.
476	Laurencin, Marie: Girl	275.
	(13 1/2 x 9 3/4)	
472	Gall, Francois: Au Café	260.
	(18 x 22)	
444	Grosz, George: Weihnachtszeit	225.
	(1925, w/c, 25 1/2 x 38 1/4)	
449	Villacres, A: Le Pantheon, Paris	225.
	(20 x 24)	
477	De Nittis, Giuseppe: Les Equipages	210.
	(4 x 6 3/4)	
431	Charlot, Jean: Yucatan Family	200.
	(1933, 6 x 6)	
432	Charlot, Jean: Symmetry	200.
	(1933, 8 x 6)	
452	Le Sidaner, Henri A: Garden Gate	200.
	(33 x 27)	

SALE O: PROPERTY OF A PHILADELPHIA PRIVATE COLLECTOR, RUSSELL R BROWN, ADOLPH INGRE AND OTHERS; SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 22 APRIL 1954.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
2619	Cézanne, Paul:	Baigneurs et Baigneuses (8 x 15 3/4)	10,000.
2623	Corot, Camille:	Orphée Charme les Humains (16 1/2 x 24)	9,000.
2620	Renoir, P Auguste:	Paysage Pres de Cagnes (14 x 18)	6,000.
2618	Van Gogh, Vincent:	La Chaumière Sous les Arbres (19 1/2 x 18)	5,500.
2617	Manet, Edouard:	Les Petits Cavaliers (18 1/2 x 30 1/2)	5,250.
2621	Rouault, Georges:	Head of Christ (23 1/4 x 20 1/2)	5,000.
2605	Bonnard, Pierre:	Landscape Through a Window (24 x 13)	4,300.
2613	Toulouse-Lautrec, H:	Domestique et Lad Promenant des Chevaux (1880, 12 x 19 3/4)	4,000.
2622	Utrillo, Maurice:	Montmartre (25 x 36 1/2)	3,800.
2616	Signac, Paul:	Faubourg de Paris (1883, 28 3/4 x 36 1/4)	2,750.
2611	Segonzac, André D de:	Paysage (20 x 25 1/2)	2,600.
2606	Pissarro, Camille:	Deux Paysannes (1889, g, 13 1/2 x 9 1/2)	2,250.
2595	Pissarro, Camille:	Gardeuses de Vaches à Eragny (1890, o/w, 6 1/2 x 9 1/2)	2,100.
2597	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Still Life (22 x 15)	1,900.
2615	Utrillo, Maurice:	Scène d'Hiver (24 x 31 1/2)	1,850.
2591	Renoir, P Auguste:	Still Life (8 1/4 x 10 1/2)	1,650.
2609	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Winter Landscape (22 x 26)	1,400.
2593	Hassam, Childe:	Gloucester, Mass (1917, o/w, 10 1/2 x 14)	1,350.
2608	Redon, Odilon:	Profil: Le Diaphane (p, 15 x 14 1/4)	1,350.
2598	Laurencin, Marie:	Harlequin (1940, 24 x 19 3/4)	1,200.
2607	Ensor, James:	Souvenir (1926, 28 x 24)	1,100.
2586	Pippin, Horace:	The Woman Taken in Adultery (20 1/4 x 24 1/4)	950.
2601	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Marine (26 x 32)	950.
2630	Laurencin, Marie:	Jeune Fille (46 x 35)	900.
2589	Rouault, Georges:	Landscape at Gethsemane (o/w, 9 x 13)	825.
2614	Lieberman, Max:	On Horseback by the Seaside (27 1/2 x 39 1/2)	800.

2583 Rouault, Georges:	Clown (16 x 11)	750.
2587 Cross, H Edmond:	Trees In Autumn (o/w, 11 1/4 x 15 1/4)	650.
2603 Friesz, Othon:	Lac d'Annecy (23 1/2 x 29)	650.
2628 Picabia:	St Tropez (32 x 39 1/2)	650.
2599 Redon, Odilon:	Violette Heymann (12 x 9)	650.
2600 Guillin, Armand:	Son Fils (21 3/4 x 18)	525.
2631 Hassam, Childe:	The Promised Land (o/w, 6 x 16 3/4)	525.
2588 Caffè, Nino:	Moscone Bianco (o/w, 14 x 25)	500.
2610 Kisling, Moise:	Jeune Fille (39 1/4 x 29)	500.
2582 Eisendieck, Suzanne:	Dimanche à la Marne (18 x 21 1/2)	450.
2596 Foujita, T:	La Dame aux Faucons (1948, t, 25 1/2 x 17)	450.
2590 Buffet, Bernard:	Still Life (1950, 20 x 25 1/2)	425.
2629 Edzard, Dietz:	Jeunes Filles et Chien (22 1/2 x 18)	425.
2581 Laurencin, Marie:	Young Girl (18 x 15)	425.
2584 Léger, Fernand:	Abstract (1938, g, 13 x 16 1/4)	375.
2612 Moret, Henry:	Finistère (1909, 29 x 23 1/2)	375.
2592 Edzard, Dietz:	Jeune Fille (16 x 13)	325.
2625 Adrion, Lucien:	La Marie de Bièvres (1940, 26 3/4 x 46)	400.
2627 Grau-Sala, Emilio:	At the Aquarium (23 1/2 x 29)	325.
2576 Léger, Fernand:	Abstraction (1938, g, 11 1/2 x 8 1/2)	300.
2602 Adrion, Lucien:	Café de la Paix (25 1/2 x 31 3/4)	250.
2594 Hartley, Marsden:	Sagebrush, New Mexico (1918, p, 17 1/2 x 27)	250.

SALE P: PROPERTY OF ARTHUR BRADLEY CAMPBELL; SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 27 OCTOBER 1954.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
397	Soutine, Chaim:	Le Vieux Moulin, Près de Cannes (26 x 32 1/2)	20,500.
396	Cezanne, Paul:	The Water Can (10 1/2 x 13 3/4)	19,000.
392	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Raimondo (o/w, 20 1/4 x 13)	15,250.
398	Matisse, Henri:	Nu au Fauteuil (18 1/8 x 15)	13,750.
390	Matisse, Henri:	Blue Interior (1947, 25 1/2 x 21)	12,000.
391	Picasso, Pablo:	Le Compotier (22 x 18)	9,800.
393	Braque, Georges:	Still Life with Fruit (13 3/4 x 25 1/2)	9,750.
388	Braque, Georges:	Still Life (9 1/2 x 13 3/4)	4,600.
395	Rouault, Georges:	Clowns and Flowers (19 7/8 x 14)	4,500.
400	Derain, André:	Still Life with Wicker Basket (21 3/4 x 18)	4,100.
394	Picasso, Pablo:	Cirque Medrano (18 1/2 x 15)	4,000.
389	Rouault, Georges:	Head of Clown (1930, p & o, 11 x 8)	3,000.
399	Laurencin, Marie:	Les Deux Soeurs (1930, 26 x 21 3/4)	2,500.
380	Harnett, William:	Still Life (1878, 12 x 10)	2,200.
382	Homer, Winslow:	Lady on Hillside (g, 6 x 8 1/2)	2,200.
379	Dali, Salvador:	Cardinal, Cardinal (t & o/w, 6 1/4 x 8 3/4)	2,000.
383	Benton, Thomas Hart:	After Many Days (o/w, 31 x 21)	1,100.
385	Cadmus, Paul:	Hinky Dinky Parley Voo (o & t, 36 1/2 x 36)	1,050.
384	Kuniyoshi, Yasuo:	Desert Woman (c, 16 x 16 x 12 1/4)	1,050.
381	Cadmus, Paul:	The Shower (t, 14 3/4 x 14 3/4)	1,000.
386	Austin, Darrel:	The Tree (20 x 24)	900.
387	Masson, André:	La Sorcière (1942, t & o, 36 x 25)	800.
402	Matta, Sebastian A:	Théorie de l'Arbre (29 1/2 x 37 1/2)	500.
404	Martin, Fletcher:	Killer in Costume (1942, 42 x 30 1/4)	400.
401	Avery, Milton:	Swans On a Lake (36 x 28)	325.

SALE Q: PROPERTY OF OLIVER P JAMES AND OTHERS; SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 19 OCTOBER 1955.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
240-			
246	Various Old Masters		
247-			600.-
252	Early Renaissance		4,000.
281	Gauguin, Paul:	Nativité (1902, 17 1/2 x 24 1/2)	24,000.
272	Daumier, Honoré:	La Drame (8 1/4 x 13 1/4)	18,000.
282	Bonnard, Pierre:	Femme aux Mimeuses (19 x 24 1/2)	17,500.
280	Cézanne, Paul:	La Toilette (14 1/8 x 10 7/8)	15,500.
269	Manet, Edouard:	Quattre Mandarines (7 1/2 x 9 1/2)	12,500.
279	Rouault, Georges:	Christ et la Pauvre (24 1/2 x 19)	11,250.
274	Soutine, Chaim:	Still Life (21 3/4 x 15)	10,000.
268	Matisse, Henri:	Gorges du Loup (18 1/4 x 32)	8,750.
275	Gris, Juan:	La Guitaure Noire (1926, 19 3/4 x 29)	6,750.
278	Braque, Georges:	Nature Morte (15 x 21 3/4)	6,500.
277	Picasso, Pablo:	Femme Endormie (18 1/4 x 21 1/2)	5,000.
258	Prendergast, Maurice:	Sunset and Sea Fog (18 x 29 1/2)	4,400.
276	Miró, Joan:	Signs and Transfiguration (1949, 20 x 24 1/4)	4,250.
273	Matisse, Henri:	Tête de Femme: Lorette (13 x 9 1/2)	4,000.
266	Dufy, Raoul:	Square at Hyeres (18 1/4 x 21 1/2)	4,250.
267	Mondrian, Piet:	Abstraction (1927, 14 x 14)	2,600.
283	Picasso, Pablo:	La Cabine de Bain (8 5/8 x 6 1/4)	2,600.
271	Courbet, Gustave:	Dr Muret (1875, o/w, 19 1/2 x 13 1/2)	2,500.
270	Gericault, Theodore:	Study of Nude Man (9 x 11 3/4)	2,500.
260	Tamayo, Ruffino:	The Toast (1945, 20 x 26)	2,500.
264	Segonzac, André D de:	Nature Morte (w/c, 18 x 22)	2,350.
285	Derain, André:	La Nugue (15 x 13)	1,500.
261	Tanguy, Yves:	L'Arche du Soleil (1947, 18 x 15)	1,400.
284	Léger, Fernand:	Nature Morte: Tronc d'Arbre (15 x 22)	1,200.
259	Grosz, George:	Approaching Storm	950.

		(20 x 23)	950.
253	O'Keefe, Georgia	Canadian Barn (9 x 12)	900.
254	O'Keefe, Georgia	Abstraction: Red and Black Night (o/w, 12 1/2 x 9 1/2)	800.
257	Dove, Arthur B:	Flour Mill - No 1 (18 x 12)	650.
255	Dove, Arthur B:	Route 25-A (11 x 17)	500.
256	Davis, Stuart:	Matches - No 2 (g/w, 13 x 14)	450.
263	Masson, André:	Enfant à la Bougie (1944, t & sand, 10 x 12 5/8)	450.
262	Davis, Lew:	Street Below the Pit (1940, o/w, 16 x 20)	250.
265	Lurçat, Jean:	Coucher de Soleil sur la Mer (o/w, 8 x 13 1/2)	225.

SALE R: PROPERTY OF F D HEASTAND, JOHN WHITNEY (DCSD), MORTON G NEUMANN (AND OTHERS); SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 25 JANUARY 1956.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
1623	Monet, Claude:	L'Eglise Sur la Falaise, Varengeville (1882, 26 x 32 1/4)	10,000.
1622	Sisley, Alfred:	Le Barrage de la Machine à Marly (1873, 15 x 24)	10,000.
1621	Corot, Camille:	Le Soir au Lac d'Albano (15 x 23)	5,250.
1620	Signac, Paul:	Seine at Argenteuil (1890, 23 x 35 1/2)	3,250.
1619	Rouault, Georges:	Le Pierrot (16 1/4 x 12)	3,100.
1599	Fantini-Latour, H:	Fleurs (1887, 14 x 11 3/4)	2,700.
1613	Utrillo, Maurice:	Eglise de St Severin (24 x 20)	2,500.
1628	De Chirico, Giorgio:	Le Rivage de la Thessalie (36 1/4 x 29)	1,950.
1614	Tamayo, Ruffino:	Strawberry Ice Cream (23 1/2 x 35 1/2)	1,700.
1617	Bellows, George:	Monhegan Island, Maine (o/w, 18 x 21 3/4)	1,500.
1597	Kuniyoshi, Yasuo:	Relaxation (16 x 12)	1,500.
1593	Utrillo, Maurice:	Le Maquis à Montmartre (15 x 18)	1,500.
1587	Signac, Paul:	Bateaux Sur la Seine (9 1/2 x 12 1/2)	1,450.
1571	Vuillard, Edouard:	Interior with Two Figures (p, 10 3/8 x 15 1/8)	1,200.
1574	Vuillard, Edouard:	La Danse (p, 18 x 24 1/2)	1,100.
1567	Dali, Salvador:	Cavalcade Fantastique (1953, w/c, 19 1/2 x 29 1/2)	1,000.
1615	Dali, Salvador:	Labyrinth (1941, 16 x 25)	900.
1594	Ernst, Max:	Sea Forms (21 1/4 x 25 1/2)	750.
1595	Laurencin, Marie:	Jeune Fille (16 x 13)	750.
1598	Luks, George B:	Dancing Clowns (18 x 24 1/2)	700.
1560	Marquet, Albert:	The Harbour (w/c, 11 x 15)	700.
1592	Bombois, Camille:	The Fisherman (13 1/4 x 18 1/4)	675.
1596	Kisling, Moise:	Still Life (21 3/4 x 18)	625.
1606	De Chirico, Giorgio:	Two Figures (26 x 19 1/2)	600.
1584	Valtat, Louis:	Park Landscape (10 3/4 x 13 3/4)	600.
1625	Avery, Milton:	Girl with Yellow Hat	575.

1585 O'Keefe, Georgia:	(1944, 36 x 52) Sunset Over Long Island (9 3/4 x 13 3/4)	575.
1586 Laurencin, Marie:	Une Femme Couronne 14 x 10 1/2)	550.
1605 Kisling, Moise:	St Tropez (1918, 25 1/2 x 32)	525.
1631 Twachtman, John H:	Winter Landscape (22 1/4 x 22 1/4)	525.
1611 Davies, Arthur B:	Jewelbearing Tree of Amity (18 1/2 x 40)	475.
1608 Eilshemius	Bathing Nudes (1916, 22 x 29 3/4)	475.
1559 Laurencin, Marie	Jeune Fille (w/c, 12 1/4 x 9 1/4)	475.
1602 Davies, Arthur B:	Day of Good Fortune (18 x 30)	450.
1609 De Diego, Julio:	Guilty Cats (1944, o/w, 30 x 24)	450.
1612 Sutherland, Graham:	Head (1952, 36 x 28)	450.
1635 Rey, Lopez:	Mexican Scenes (1946, o/w, 12 x 16)	440.
590 Laurencin, Marie:	Young Girl (16 x 13)	425.
1589 Edzard, Dietz:	Jeune Fille au Bois (16 x 12 1/2)	400.
1577 Grosz, George:	Berlin Street Scene (w/c, 26 1/2 x 18 1/2)	350.
1570 Hassam, Childe	Rocks at Appledore (1911, w/c, 10 3/4 x 15)	350.
1636 Wilson, Solomon:	Brooklyn Bridge (24 x 18)	350.
1632 Dufy, Jean:	Paysage de Tour (g & w/c, 21 3/4 x 17 1/4)	300.
1627 Cikovsky, Nicolai:	Long Island Landscape (1945, 18 x 28)	275.
1580 Clemens, Paul:	Solitaire (10 x 8)	250.
1610 Avery, Milton:	Swans on a Lake (36 x 28)	250.
1568 Davies, Arthur B:	Dancing Group (w/c, 20 x 8)	250.
1576 Dufy, Jean:	Dance Band (w/c, 13 x 23 1/2)	225.
1624 Eilshemius	Scouts (40 1/2 x 61)	225.
1633 Camoin, Charles:	Le Plat de Fruits (15 x 22)	175.

SALE S: PROPERTY OF GEORGES LURCY; SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT
GALLERIES, 7 NOVEMBER 1957.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
625	Renoir, P Auguste:	La Serre (1874, 23 1/4 x 28 3/4)	200,000.
622	Gauguin, Paul:	Mau Taporo (1892, 35 x 26)	180,000.
619	Toulouse-Lautrec, H:	Aux Ambassadeurs, Gens Chics (g/c, 31 x 25 1/2)	95,000.
605	Monet, Claude:	Femme Dans un Jardin (1881, 33 1/4 x 26 1/2)	92,000.
610	Bonnard, Pierre:	Still Life with Cat (1920, 35 1/2 x 29 1/2)	70,000.
590	Vuillard, Edouard:	Aux Tuilleries (1900, o/w, 14 1/4 x 13)	70,000.
629	Toulouse-Lautrecc, H:	Aristide Bruant aux Ambassadeurs (g & w/c, 54 1/2 x 36 1/2)	62,000.
595	Pissarro, Camille:	Le Pont Neuf, Paris (1901, 28 3/4 x 36 1/4)	57,000.
621	Bonnard, Pierre:	Femme Nue (29 x 17 3/4)	50,000.
614	Degas, H Edgar:	Danseuses (p, 24 1/2 x 17)	50,000.
617	Renoir, P Auguste:	Roses (18 x 21 1/2)	37,500.
618	Sisley, Alfred:	Le Loing à Moret (1888, 28 x 36)	37,500.
634	Degas, H Edgar:	Danseuses Russes (p, 21 x 13 1/4)	35,000.
624	Monet, Claude:	Le Bassin aux Nymphéas à Giverny (1903, 40 x 28 1/2)	35,000.
609	Sisley, Alfred:	Entree du Village des Sablons (1888, 23 x 30 1/2)	35,000.
600	Signac, Paul:	Beach Scene, St Brieuc (1888, 24 x 36)	31,000.
616	Sisley, Alfred:	River Landscape (15 x 18)	31,000.
585	Braque, Georges:	Dans le Boudoir (13 x 21 1/2)	25,000.
578	Gauguin, Paul:	Femme au Voile Rouge et Soleils (o/w, 7 x 10 1/2)	24,000.
594	Boudin, Eugene:	Beach at Deauville (1892, 20 x 29 1/2)	23,000.
599	Boudin, Eugene:	Venice (1895, 19 1/2 x 28 1/2)	23,000.
632	Dufy, Raoul:	Paris (1934, 76 x 61)	26,000.
593	Renoir, P Auguste:	Mme Le Brun et sa Fille (8 1/4 x 6 3/4)	22,500.
604	Derain, André:	Arbre Dans le Chemin Creux (16 x 13)	22,000.
628	Soutine, Chaim:	Paysage aux Vaches (o/w, 14 x 25 1/2)	19,000.
602	Pissarro, Camille:	Le Chemin de Halage, Pontoise (1879, 21 1/2 x 18)	18,000.

631	Gauguin, Paul:	Paris: L'Omnibus de Vaugirard (1884, 24 1/2 x 32 1/2)	17,500.
607	Signac, Paul:	River Scene (18 x 25 3/4)	17,500.
635	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Le Potager (32 x 39)	17,000.
608	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	La Chaumière (28 1/2 x 36)	13,000.
581	Boudin, Eugene:	Harbour of Trouville (1897, o/w, 12 1/4 x 16)	12,500.
613	Chagall, Marc:	Le Violoniste Sous les Roses (g, 24 1/2 x 19 1/2)	12,500.
584	Braques, Georges:	Le Saucisson (9 1/2 x 14)	12,000.
633	Chagall, Marc:	L'Esprit des Roses (36 x 28 1/2)	12,000.
582	Renoir, P Auguste:	Still Life: Fruit (11 3/4 x 15 1/4)	12,000.
612	Dufy, Raoul:	Chambre Sur la Mer (18 x 15)	10,500.
580	Boudin, Eugene:	Deauville (1882, 14 1/4 x 22 3/4)	10,000.
606		Tourgeville (1893, 14 1/4 x 22 3/4)	10,000.
597	Picasso, Pablo:	Still Life (coloured crayon, 24 x 17 1/2)	10,000.
601	Utrillo, Maurice:	Avenue des Ternes, Paris (1924, 15 x 22 3/4)	10,000.
611	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Still Life (25 x 19 1/2)	9,500.
620	Cross, H Edmond:	Paysage (29 x 36)	9,000.
630	Boudin, Eugene:	Petite Rade (1894, o/w, 16 x 12 3/4)	8,000.
592	Picasso, Pablo:	Intérieur (1919, 13 1/4 x 9 1/2)	8,000.
603	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Still Life (30 x 25)	8,000.
615	Valadon, Suzanne:	La Vachère (1922, 24 x 29)	7,750.
598	Chagall, Marc:	In the Alps (g, 25 x 19 1/2)	7,500.
637	Derain, André:	Dancers (w/c, 24 x 29 1/2)	6,500.
626	Dufy, Raoul:	Fontaine de Vence (25 1/2 x 21)	6,000.
627	Segonzac, André D de:	Paysage (20 1/2 x 31 1/2)	6,000.
586	Boudin, Eugene:	Fisherwomen on the Beach (o/w, 4 3/4 x 9 1/2)	5,500.
596	Derain, André:	Vase de Fleurs (21 3/4 x 18)	5,500.
638	Dufy, Raoul:	Paysage Montagneux (21 x 25 1/4)	5,500.
583	Renoir, P Auguste:	Still Life: Fish (6 3/4 x 15)	5,500.
623	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Still Life (20 1/2 x 17 1/2)	5,500.
636	Guillamin, Armand:	Paysage d'Hiver (29 x 36)	5,000.

586	Boudin, Eugene:	Fishing Fleet (o/w, 4 x 9 3/4)	4,500.
579	Vuillard, Edouard:	Chanteuse en Rouge (p, 21 x 8)	4,250.
591	Dufy, Raoul:	Palazzo Ducale, Venice (1938, g & w/c, 19 1/2 x 25)	4,000.
576	Pissarro, Camille:	Port of Le Havre (1903, 7 1/2 x 11 1/2)	4,000.

SALE T: PROPERTY OF GEORGES LURCY; SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT
GALLERIES, 8 & 9 NOVEMBER 1957.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
705	Dali, Salvador:	Three Graces (1952, w/c, 39 1/2 x 29 1/2)	5,000.
684	Dufy, Raoul:	New York Harbour (1937, w/c, 19 x 25)	3,700.
686	Derain, André:	Eagle in Flight (crayon & w/c, 18 1/2 x 24)	3,500.
712	Laurencin, Marie:	Mme Georges Benard (36 x 25)	2,750.
704	Chagall, Marc:	Still Life: Blue Flowers (w/c, 26 x 20)	2,700.
698	Laurencin, Marie:	La Nymphe (1938, w/c, 18 1/2 x 15 1/2)	2,600.
688	Segonzac, André D de:	Le Port de Toulon (w/c, 18 1/2 x 24)	2,500.
680	Utrillo, Maurice:	La Caserne de Lourcine, Boulevard du Port-Royal (1923, g, 10 x 13 1/4)	2,500.
711	Friesz, Othon:	Bridge on Seine (25 1/2 x 19)	2,400.
713	Dedreux, Alfred:	Moorish Groom with Horse (1958, 25 1/2 x 31)	2,000.
702	Segonzac, André D de:	Baigneuse au Soleil (15 x 21 1/2)	2,000.
700	Marquet, Albert:	River Landscape (20 3/4 x 25 1/4)	1,800.
706	Van Dongen, Kees:	Vue Sur Cannes (32 x 39)	1,800.
672	Sisley, Alfred:	Canal (o/w, 4 3/4 x 5 3/4)	1,800.
682	Marquet, Albert:	Hiver, Alpes Francaises o/w, 12 3/4 x 16)	1,550.
709	Laurencin, Marie:	Lady (1913, 36 1/4 x 28 1/2)	1,400.
690	Marquet, Albert:	Usine et Viaduc (15 x 18 1/2)	1,400.
699	Segonzac, André D de:	River Landscape (w/c, 14 1/2 x 20 1/2)	1,300.
707	Dufresne, C:	Nature Morte (41 x 41)	1,100.
697	Kisling, Moise:	Entrance to Wood (28 1/2 x 21 1/2)	1,100.
683	Segonzac, André D de:	Eglise de Province (w/c, 11 3/4 x 18 1/4)	1,050.
678	Vertes, Marcel:	Romance (1942, 15 x 18)	900.
666	Gromaire, Marcel:	Trees (1927, w/c, 12 1/2 x 9 1/2)	850.
677	De la Fresnaye, R:	Landscape (o/w, 9 1/2 x 13 1/2)	800.
687	Vertes, Marcel:	Still Life (18 1/4 x 12 1/4)	700.
708	Dufrenoy, Georges:	Winter Scene (36 x 28 1/2)	600.
681	Vertes, Marcel:	Girl (w/c, 23 x 19 1/2)	125.

SALE U: PROPERTY OF MRS HENRY JOHN HEINZ II, MYRON J ISRAEL,
H E HUGUES LE GALLAIS, JOSEPH PETERS AND OTHER; SALE AT PARKE-
BERNETT GALLERIES, 19 MARCH 1958.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
2832	Gauguin, Paul:	Corbeille de Fleurs (19 x 24)	54,000.
2824	Pissarro, Camille:	Après-Midi, Soleil, Rouen (1896, 21 1/2 x 25 3/4)	40,000.
2843	Signac, Paul:	Le Moulin (1896, 25 1/2 x 31 3/4)	25,000.
2821	Corot, Camille:	Italienne de Profil, Une Cruche Sur la Tête (18 1/2 x 13 1/2)	16,000.
2830	Matisse, Henri:	Reclining Nude (25 1/2 x 21 1/2)	11,000.
2842	Soutine, Chaim:	Bois de Clamart (32 x 20)	10,000.
2849	Corot, Camille:	Landscape by Sea (38 3/4 x 51)	9,000.
2820	Renoir, P Auguste:	L'Italienne (9 x 8)	9,000.
2845	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Cour de Ferme (25 1/2 x 31 1/2)	9,000.
2837	Vuillard, Edouard:	Femme avec Chien Favori (p/p, 29 1/2 x 23)	8,600.
2846	Soutine, Chaim:	Paysage Près de Cagnes (14 3/4 x 22 1/2)	7,000.
2818	Gris, Juan:	Abstraction (19 1/2 x 13 1/2)	6,750.
2823	Renoir, P Auguste:	Apples (9 1/4 x 13 3/8)	6,000.
2831	Soutine, Chaim:	Artists Studio (18 x 22)	5,550.
2848	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Landscape with Farmhouses (21 1/2 x 25 1/2)	5,000.
2841	Kirchner, Ernst L:	Houses in Sertigal (36 x 47)	4,500.
2839	Derain, André:	Nature Morte (18 x 21 1/2)	4,250.
2840	Rouault, Georges:	Paysage Biblique (20 x 25 1/2)	4,250.
2854	Redon, Odilon:	Rose Window (Le Vitrail) (36 1/4 x 29)	4,000.
2844	Utrillo, Maurice:	Église de Couchey (Côte d'Or) (15 1/2 x 18 1/4)	4,000.
2847	Lorjou, Bernard:	Vieil Arbre (1956, 39 1/2 x 29)	3,750.
2850	Valtat, Louis:	Femme Assise (28 1/2 x 36 1/4)	3,750.
2834	Utrillo, Maurice:	Street in Montmartre (14 1/2 x 11 1/2)	3,500.
2819	Boudin, Eugene:	Plage à Trouville (o/w, 7 1/4 x 10 1/4)	3,400.
2827	Nolde, Emil:	Alter Mann und Weib (31 x 27 1/2)	3,100.
2838	Utrillo, Maurice:	Montmartre with Sacre Coeur (11 x 14)	3,100.
2805	Marin, John:	Blue Mountain	2,800.

2799 Miró, Joan:	(1910, w/c, 15 x 18) Femme, Oiseau, Étoile (g/linen, 8 x 19 1/2)	2,600.
2826 Jawlensky, Alexej:	Lady with Blue Hat (25 1/4 x 19 3/4)	2,300.
2835 Chirico, Giorgio de:	Le Cheval D'Agamemnon (39 1/4 x 32)	2,250.
2822 Edzard, Dietz:	Fleurs et Mandoline (32 x 25 1/2)	2,200.
2815 Boudin, Eugene L:	Ferme en Normandie (o/p, 7 3/4 x 9 3/4)	2,000.
2804 Derain, André:	The Dancers (w/c, 19 x 24)	2,000.
2836 Guillaumin, Armand:	Scene near Saardam, Holland (24 x 28 3/4)	2,000.
2829 Guillaumin, Armand:	Paysage (17 x 21 1/2)	1,750.
2806 Dufy, Raoul:	Mediterranean Motive (w/c & g, 17 1/2 x 21 1/2)	1,700.
2801 Klee, Paul:	Kleiner Abenteurer (1938, w/c, 17 1/4 x 11 1/2)	1,700.
2801 Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Le Village (w/c & g, 15 3/4 x 21 1/4)	1,700.
2813 Boudin, Eugene L:	Harbour Scene (5 1/4 x 8 3/4)	1,600.
2866 Campigli, Massimo:	Promenade (1956, 21 1/2 x 32)	1,400.
2857 Marchand, André:	Nature Morte au Pot Blanc (1944, o/w, 18 x 21 1/2)	1,400.
2859 Buffet, Bernard:	Hyacinths (1952, 26 x 18)	1,300.
2817 Severini, Gino:	Still Life with Doves (g, 9 1/2 x 14 1/2)	1,300.
2810 Renoir, P Auguste:	Landscape Study (3 x 6 1/2)	1,100.
2828 Wood, Grant:	American Countryside (1931, o/w, 13 x 15)	1,000.
2865 Chirico, Giorgio de:	Gladiators (18 x 13 1/4)	900.
2833 Ensor, James:	Le Christ et les Anges (20 x 24)	900.
2851 Loiseau, Gustave:	Beach at Fecamp (21 1/2 x 32 3/4)	900.
2855 Masson, André:	Nus et Architectures (28 1/2 x 36)	900.
2868 Kisling, Moise:	Young Girl (26 x 20)	850.
2860 Pignon, Edouard:	Au Modiste (1952, 25 1/2 x 32)	850.
2814 Bombois, Camille:	Dans la Forêt (10 3/4 x 7 3/4)	750.
2816 Derain, André:	Dancers (o/w, 8 1/2 x 10 1/2)	700.
2811 Derain, André:	Nature Morte sur Scene (6 1/2 x 12 1/2)	600.
2864 Davis, Gladys R:	Nude at Dressing Table (30 x 25)	500.
2872 Nicholson, Ben:	Still Life: The Pendulum (1934, o/w, 19 1/4 x 9)	500.
2858 Zao-Wou-Ki:	Le Chasseur	500.

	(15 x 18)	
2867 Bauchant, André:	Asters	400.
	(1930, 25 1/2 x 21 1/2)	
2861 Guerin, Armand:	La Seine et les Quais	400.
	(o/w, 25 x 31 1/4)	
2872 Eilshemius	Sunday in the Park	350.
	(30 x 27)	
2863 Evergood, Phillip:	Love Nests	350.
	(1954, 19 1/2 x 23)	
2869 Guerin, Armand:	Place du Tertre, Paris	350.
	(20 x 23 1/2)	
2873 Maurer, Alfred:	Landscape	225.
	(o/w, 21 1/2 x 18)	

*[Art Prices Current: Vol (1957 - 58); p A106 - A110.]

SALE V: PROPERTY OF ARNOLD KIRKEBY, SALE AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 19 NOVEMBER 1958.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
636	Cézanne, Paul:	Garçon Couché (21 1/4 x 25 3/4)	125,000.
635	Renoir, P Auguste:	Jardin à Sorrente (26 1/8 x 32 1/2)	105,000.
630	Renoir, P Auguste:	La Cousseuse (25 1/2 x 21 1/2)	87,000.
632	Monet, Claude:	Jean Monet dans son Berceau (45 3/4 x 35)	85,000.
639	Van Gogh, Vincent:	Bateau à l'Amarre (18 1/4 x 21 1/2)	67,500.
625	Degas, H G Edgar:	Deux Danseuses en Jupes Vertes, Decor de Paysage (55 x 31 1/2)	66,000.
638	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Gentleman (39 1/2 x 25 1/2)	66,000.
628	Pissarro, Camille:	Vue de Pontoise, la Route d'Anvers (1881, 22 x 36)	62,500.
648	Rouault, Georges:	Crépuscule: Paysage Légendaire (40 1/2 x 28 1/2)	62,000.
646	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	River Scene (25 1/4 x 31 1/2)	60,000.
621	Bonnard, Pierre:	La Jeune Vendueuse de Fruits (23 3/4 x 18)	40,000.
633	Manet, Edouard:	Femme Debout dans le Jardin de Bellevue. (50 1/2 x 40)	39,000.
629	Signac, Paul:	Les Bateaux Pêcheurs en Partance (1925, 29 x 36 1/4)	34,000.
624	Morisot, Berthe:	Le Mare aux Oies (25 1/4 x 21)	31,000.
634	Segonzac, André D de:	Nature Morte aux Pommes (25 1/4 x 31 3/4)	30,000.
627	Renoir, P Auguste:	Etude de Têtes de Femmes et d'Enfants (21 1/4 x 17 1/2)	28,500.
622	Renoir, P Auguste:	Têtes d'Enfants (21 1/4 x 14 1/2)	28,000.
623	Utrillo, Maurice:	Le Lapin Agile à Montmartre (1913, o/w, 23 x 30 3/4)	28,000.
631	Vuillard, Edouard:	Au Bord de la Seine (29 1/2 x 41)	22,000.
644	Signac, Paul:	Cherbourg: Le Bassin-a-Flot (1931, 20 3/4 x 28 3/4)	20,000.
649	Dufy, Raoul:	Le Pur Sang (18 1/4 x 21 3/4)	19,000.
626	Bonnard, Pierre:	Après le Théâtre (o/w, 18 x 5)	17,000.
647		Renée (20 x 16)	17,000.
640	Utrillo, Maurice:	Une Rue de Village (25 1/2 x 21 1/2)	17,000.
637	Utrillo, Maurice:	Sannois (Seine-et-Oise) (21 1/4 x 25 1/2)	16,000.

*[Art Prices Current: Vol (1958 - 59); p A25 - A28.]

SALE W: PROPERTY OF RALPH M COE, F W BURNHAM AND OTHERS, SALE
HELD AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 14 JANUARY 1959.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
1913	Van Gogh, Vincent:	Parc de l'Hôpital à St Remi (25 x 19 1/2)	74,000.
1907	Pissarro, Camille:	Charing Cross Bridge, London (1891, 23 1/2 x 28 3/4)	40,000.
1919	Renoir, P Auguste:	Au bord de la Mer (21 1/4 x 25 1/2)	28,000.
1901	Morisot, Berthe:	Jeanne Foumanoir, with Little Dog Colas (25 3/4 x 32)	25,000.
1918	Courbet, Gustave:	Chateau de Chillon, Lake of Geneva (35 x 45 1/4)	19,000.
1922	Vuillard, Edouard:	Le Pagode (34 3/4 x 27 1/4)	19,000.
1916	Monet, Claude:	Coastal Scene, Etretat (1881, 23 1/2 x 29)	16,000.
1902	Redon, Odilon:	Pot of Geraniums (25 1/2 x 19 3/4)	15,000.
1917	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Le Potager (32 x 39)	15,000.
1903	Van Gogh, Vincent:	Paysanne Ratissant (15 x 10 1/2)	9,000.
1906	Derain, André:	Westminster: Blue and Grey (1906, 29 1/2 x 37)	9,000.
1882	Hassam, Childe:	Brittany Cottages (1897, 21 1/2 x 18)	8,750.
1920	Guillaumin, Armand:	Agay, Le Ressac (Alpes Maritimes) (26 x 32)	8,500.
1915	Vlaminck, Maurice:	Outgoing Fishing Fleet (25 3/4 x 32)	8,500.
1880	Pascin, Jules:	Two English Girls (22 x 17)	7,750.
1911	Courbet, Gustave:	Femme à l'Eventail (1861, 36 x 25 1/2)	6,000.
1921	Monet, Claude:	La Brume à Senlis (21 1/2 x 29)	5,500.
1914	Guillaumin, Armand:	Bay of Agay (Alpes-Maritimes) (29 x 39 1/2)	5,250.
1912	Utrillo, Maurice:	Eglise de Bievre (Seine) (1927, 28 1/2 x 39 1/2)	5,250.
1884	Utrillo, Maurice:	Vue d'un Chateau (15 x 18)	4,250.
1881	Bonnard, Pierre:	Baigneuses (o/w, 15 x 12 1/2)	4,000.
1910	Kirchner, Ernst:	Maler und Modell (1921, 29 1/2 x 23 1/2)	4,000.
1878	Boudin, Eugene:	Petite Marine (o/w, 11 x 8 1/4)	3,800.
1926	Kisling, Moise:	Reclining Nude (32 x 53 3/4)	3,750.
1905	Dufy, Raoul:	Venice. (1936, w/c & g, 19 3/4 x 25 3/4)	3,600.
1893	Guillaumin, Armand:	Chemin à Crozant (1898, p, 19 x 21 1/2)	3,500.
1887	Moses, A M "Grandma":	Horses, Horses	3,400.

	(17 1/2 x 22 1/2)	
1883 Monticelli, Adolphe:	Reception in Park	3,250.
	(o/w, 15 x 23)	
1894	Empress Eugenie and Court	3,250.
	(o/w, 16 1/2 x 24)	
1908 Valloton, Felix:	La Jetes de Honfleur	3,100.
	(1920, 21 1/2 x 25 3/4)	
1888 Vivin, Louis:	Le Panthéon et St Etienne du	
	Mont, Paris. (23 1/4 x 28 3/4)	2,700.
1873 Lepine, S V Edouard:	Pont St Michel	2,100.
	(7 x 9 1/2)	
1909 Von Jawlensky, Alexei:	Head	1,900.
	(o/p, 15 3/4 x 12)	
1886 Hartley, Marsden:	Still Life	1,800.
	(20 x 15 3/4)	
1879 Valtat, Louis:	Still Life	1,700.
	(21 1/2 x 18)	
1897 Dufy, Jean:	Athens, Acropolis	1,650.
	(18 x 22)	
1889 Camoin, Charles:	Environs de St Tropez	1,600.
	(13 x 22)	
1900 Daubigny, C Francois:	River Landsacpe	1,600.
	(24 1/2 x 37)	
1899 Vollon, Alexis:	La Seine	1,600.
	(19 3/4 x 24)	
1885 Valtat, Louis:	Still Life	1,400.
	(22 x 18 1/2)	
1896 Ernst, Max:	Skaters	1,300.
	(o/w, 15 3/4 x 11 3/4)	
1925 Venard, Claude:	Bridge	1,300.
	(1955, 45 x 57 1/2)	
1923 Matta, Sebastian A:	Chile in Morning	1,200.
	(27 x 53)	
1898 Padina-Moser, A:	Rue de l'Opéra, Paris	1,100.
	(1955, 19 3/4 x 25 1/2)	
1895 Dufy, Jean:	Still Life	900.
	(15 1/2 x 15 1/2)	
1877 Van Dongen, Kees:	Boats on Stream	850.
	(o/w, 11 1/4 x 7 1/2)	
1874 Bombois, Camille:	Le Cirque	700.
	(7 3/4 x 10)	
1892 Boudin, Eugene:	Cows in Pasture	800.
	(12 x 15 3/4)	
1924 Lurçat, Jean:	Le Jardin	400.
	(1927, 32 x 46)	
1876 Edzard, Dietz:	Le Poisson	300.
	(10 1/4 x 22 3/4)	

*[Art Prices Current: Vol (1958 - 1959); p A71 - A75.]

SALE X: PROPERTY OF IAN WOODNER, CHARLES E KAHR, MRS STERNSEN-SWARTLING, JOHAN H STERNSEN AND MRS H IRVING, SALE HELD AT PARKE-BERNETT GALLERIES, 15 APRIL 1959.

No*	Artist	Title	Price \$
3272	Cassatt, Mary:	Alexander Cassatt and his Son, Robert Kelso Cassat (1884, 39 1/2 x 32)	39,000.
3270	Pissarro, Camille:	Quai Napoleon à Rouen (1883, 20 1/2 x 25)	35,000.
3259	Renoir, P Auguste:	Jeune Garçon (1890, 16 1/2 x 12 1/2)	34,000.
3265	Sisley, Alfred:	La Lisière de la Forêt de Fontainbleau, le Matin (23 3/4 x 29)	32,500.
3283	Picasso, Pablo:	Still Life (1945, 26 x 39)	26,000.
3278	Picasso, Pablo:	Tête de Femme (o/w, 25 1/4 x 21 1/4)	21,000.
3267	Renoir, P Auguste:	Coco (p, 22 1/4 x 17 1/2)	20,000.
3245	Braque, Georges:	Sunflowers (15 x 13 1/4)	19,000.
3273	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Lady (24 1/2 x 17)	19,000.
3274	Munch, Edvard:	Kornacker (Wheatfield) (1917, 29 3/4 x 39)	14,000.
3257	Braque, Georges:	Still Life (22 x 15)	13,500.
3264	Monet, Claude:	Prairie Ensoleilles, Giverny (36 1/2 x 32 1/4)	13,500.
3253	Vuillard, Edouard:	Women Sewing (o/w, 12 x 16 1/2)	10,000.
3258	Gauguin, Paul:	La Seine à Paris (15 x 18)	9,000.
3285	Munch, Edvard:	From Jeloya: Landscape with Birches (1914 - 15, 27 3/4 x 43 1/2)	9,000.
3269	Utrillo, Maurice:	Chateau de Chillon, Lac de Geneve (o/w, 23 1/4 x 30 1/4)	9,000.
3263	Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Vieux Ponts de Mantes (23 1/2 x 20)	9,000.
3260	Pissarro, Camille:	Paysage Près de Pontoise (1888, g, 13 1/2 x 10 1/2)	8,500.
3252	Rouault, Georges:	Head of Clown (1930, g & p, 20 1/4 x 14 1/2)	7,750.
3251	Gauguin, Paul:	Woman (13 x 10 1/2)	7,500.
3287	Miró, Joan:	Abstraction (1932, t/w, 19 x 25)	7,500.
3241	Renoir, P Auguste:	Paysage aux Collettes (7 1/2 x 16 1/4)	7,500.
3286	Utrillo, Maurice:	Rue du Mont Cenis, Montmartre (o/w, 25 x 32 1/2)	7,250.
3248	Modigliani, Amedeo:	Head of Woman (o/p, 19 3/4 x 12 3/4)	6,500.
3246	Klee, Paul:	Haus an de See	6,250.

	(1924, t, 12 x 10 3/4)	
3256 Dufy, Raoul:	La Plage	5,750.
	(13 1/4 x 18 1/4)	
3250 Klee, Paul:	Ein Weib Fuer Goetter	5,500.
	(1938, g, 17 1/2 x 24)	
3255 Vlaminck, Maurice de:	Village Street in Winter	5,000.
	(mixed media, 18 1/2 x 21 1/2)	
3281 Utrillo, Maurice:	Eglise de Domremy (Vosges)	4,750.
	(g/w, 19 1/2 x 26)	
3244 Manet, Edouard:	Dahlias	4,250.
	(9 x 19 1/4)	
3277 Van Gogh, Vincent:	Canal Near Nuenen	4,250.
	(18 1/4 x 13 1/4)	
3297 Hartley, Marsden:	New Mexico	4,000.
	(28 x 36)	
3262 Wood, Grant:	Spilt Milk	3,750.
	(1935, g/w, 26 1/4 x 19 1/2)	
3243 Morisot, Berthe:	Nature Morte	3,100.
	(18 1/4 x 11 3/4)	
3295 Derain, André:	Quattre Roses	3,000.
	(11 x 16)	
3280 Moses, A M "Grandma":	Now We Can Skate	3,000.
	(o/w, 18 1/2 x 24 1/4)	
3247 Derain, André:	Head of a Young Girl	2,700.
	()	
3297 Signac, Paul:	Seascape	2,600.
	(1885, 13 x 18 1/4)	
3290 Edzard, Dietz:	Still Life	2,300.
	(32 x 25 1/2)	
3296 Jongkind, Johan B:	River Scene at Night	2,200.
	(12 1/4 x 17 1/2)	
3268 Moses, A M "Grandma":	On Banks of Hudson	2,100.
	(o/w, 25 1/4 x 37 1/4)	
3266 Courbet, Gustave:	Les Sources de la Lison	2,000.
	(32 x 26)	
3276	La Chute d'Eau	2,000.
	(18 1/4, 32 x 25 3/4)	
3240 Degas, H Edgar:	Paysage	2,000.
	(p, 10 1/2 x 13 1/2)	
3284 Magritte, Rene:	L'Avenir des Voix	2,000.
	(19 3/4 x 25 1/2)	
3261 Severini, Gino:	Groupe de Choses Presentes et	
	Lointaines (g, 25 1/4 x 19)	1,750.
3271 Bombois, Camille:	River Landscape	1,700.
	(26 x 21 1/4)	
3288 Jawlensky, Alexej:	Bauerntheater	1,600.
	(o/w, 21 x 19 1/2)	
3289 Avery, Milton:	Harpo Marx	1,500.
	(30 x 22)	
3254 Caillebotte, Gustave:	L'Homard	1,500.
	(23 1/2 x 29)	
3249 Metzinger, Jean:	Abstraction with Roulette	1,300.
	(15 x 21 3/4)	
3238 Baumeister, Willi:	Hades Gestalten	1,200.
	(18 x 21 1/4)	
3282 Matta, Sebastian A:	L'Appel du Volcan, Conca del	
	Agua (1954, 32 x 41 1/4)	1,000.
3298 Maurer, Alfred H:	Landscape	1,000.
	(o/w, 18 x 21 3/4)	
3275 Pechstein, Max:	Frau Mit Spiegel	1,000.

3239 Soyer, Raphael:	(1917, 32 x 27) Model	950.
3242 Bombois, Camille:	(22 x 10) Clown	850.
3237 Dufy, Jean	(18 1/2 x 14 1/2) Harbour Scene	850.
3291 Vollon, Alexis:	(9 x 21 3/4) View of the Seine	600.
3293 Felixmuller, Conrad:	(21 1/4 x 25 1/2) Winter: Two Figures	550.
3236 Jawlensky, Alexej:	(1919, 26 x 22) Meditation	450.
3294 Appel, Karel:	(7 x 5 1/2) Garçon de la Lune	400.
	(1953, 30 x 25)	

*[Art Prices Current: Vol (1958 - 59); p A122 - A126.]

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